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TACITUS

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TACITUS

AGRICOLA AND GERMANIA.

WITH INTRODUCTION AND NOTES

BY

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PREFACE.

THIS edition is intended, like the others in this series, principally for use in schools.

The text is the text of Halm (Teubner, 1889) with some few variations, mentioned in the Notes on the Text.

The editions I have used in preparing this book, besides Ritter's and the excellent English edition by Messrs Church and Brodribb, are, for the *Agricola*, those of Draeger, Wex and Kritz, for the *Germania*, those of Zernial, Baumstark, Kritz and Schweizer-Sidler. The Introduction, borrowed almost entirely from Nipperdey (*Tacitus, Annals I.—VI.*, Weidmann's series) and the editors mentioned above, is intended simply to introduce school-boys to the study of these two works of Tacitus. It was impossible, as it would have been out of place, in such an edition to enter into the archaeological and ethnological questions suggested by the subjects.

The Map, inserted by the kind permission of Messrs Weidmann of Berlin, is one prepared by the well-known geographer H. Kiepert for the edition of the *Germania* by Prof. Zernial. I have not thought it worth while to insert a map of Britain, because the classical atlases now in use in classical schools supply all that is required in that respect.

INTRODUCTION.

TACITUS AND HIS WRITINGS.

(1) CORNELIUS TACITUS (his *praenomen* is unknown) was born about the year A.D. 52, and died soon after the accession of Hadrian in A.D. 117. In A.D. 81 Domitian succeeded his brother Titus, and reigned until he was assassinated in A.D. 96. Tacitus therefore lived the fifteen years of his life, when his moral and intellectual vigour would naturally be fullest, from the age of thirty to forty-five, as a public man at Rome¹, under the government of that curiously tyrannical emperor. This fact had necessarily a great effect in shaping at once his habits of thought and feeling, and his mode of expression or style of writing. To a highly cultivated man, a man of a philosophic mind and powerful intellect trained in the best studies, an accomplished jurist and orator, a patriot moreover full of solicitude for the well-being of the empire of which he was proud by inheritance, the years of Domitian's reign were a period of continual misery of indignant self-repression. Not that he suffered personally from Domitian's tyranny. On the contrary his promotion to state-offices begun by Vespasian was continued by Domitian². But the fact that he did not suffer personally is sufficient evidence of what he must have suffered mentally, a living man in a tomb, as he tells us himself³.

(2) For the common characteristic of most tyrants, to disapprove things excellent, was exaggerated in this tyrant. Any excellence which was conspicuous enough to cast a shadow on his own deficiencies (and no excellence if it emerged into daylight could avoid doing so) he marked for destruction at the nearest convenient opportunity. For this was not an open-minded

¹ Hist. I. 1.

² *ibid.*

³ Agric. c. 3, l. 29.

civilised savage like Nero. He knew what an emperor of Rome ought to be—at times he even played the *rôle* of an imperial reformer—and he knew, none better, what he was himself; he suffered in consequence mental torment between consciousness of himself compared with his father or brother, and his desire to get rid of anything which, reminding him of his own incapacity, suggested at the same time fears of a rival. A gloomy reserved saturnine tyrant this, who in a conversation on the weather would be meditating the death of the man he was talking to, and would always, if possible, find a decent disguise for his homicidal mania¹. But of all excellent things he hated and feared most the excellence of earnest thought. He was a magnificent, though (as Martial lets us know) an economical patron of literature, but the literature he patronised was the court literature of Martial, Statius and Silius Italicus. Philosophers, men who thought or taught others to think, all who had power to interest others in noble deeds and noble lives, he persecuted relentlessly².

(3) Now whether Tacitus paid the required tribute of servility³ during those days, or only kept silence, he must have suffered a painful self-repression which could not but affect a mind like his. When the restraint was taken off, when he came out of his grave into the daylight, the reality and earnestness of the man comes out with the marks of reaction upon it. His earnestness is somewhat exaggerated in tone, so that it sometimes trespasses beyond its sphere and overpowers the man's sense of the ridiculous. His insight, marvellously penetrating as it is, is somewhat blind to shades of colour in the mass of Roman life. All is black or white to him there. A *sæva indignatio* against the un-Roman Romans seems never to leave him, and shows itself in a sort of pessimism

¹ The stories of the turbot council and the funereal banquet are generally quoted as instances of a grim humour, as if the object of them was simply amusement, but it is a question whether they were not rather part of a regular system by which he sought pretexts for judicial murder.

² Agric. c. 2.

³ Merivale, VII. 394.

in regard to the sovereign people, a lurking feeling that they were doomed, that a people so corrupted by service to their senses, and by material comforts, as to be able to endure tyrants, could never permanently regain their vigour. This is not so apparent in the *Agricola*, where it seems natural for the son-in-law of a great man to present all his virtues at their brightest and to blacken to the utmost the man who ill-treated him. But in the *Germania* the darkness of Roman life is used rather too recklessly to lend a factitious brightness to German character, and Tacitus allows his desire to disparage his corrupt countrymen to betray him into the absurdity of attributing positive merit to a mere ignorance of the means of vice.

(4) This engrossing and gloomy earnestness could not but affect the style he adopted. When Tacitus began life as a writer there were two styles of writing at Rome to choose from. The style of the Ciceronian age had been a natural style. It expressed the thought of the speaker simply and plainly, assisting the effect of it only by fulness of expression and by the dignified flow of the period, which with its balanced and harmonious combination of principal and subordinate statemen conveyed the speaker's meaning easily and forcibly. This gave place under the empire to a much more artificial style. The object aimed at was not to convey the meaning simply. The meaning was often not worth conveying, often would not bear conveying simply, while, speaking or writing with all earnestness and all direct personal interest in life, the desire for direct straightforward expression in speaking or writing to a great extent prevailed among the mass of the Romans. Declamations and rhetorical exercises had no direct and personal interest. They had no part in political life, moral reflexions nor in the life of those who were not allowed to practise rhetoric. It was an object then to create an interest in the thing by the way in which the thing was expressed. The speaker must have his appetite coaxed by the rhetorical devices required to have it

language. The result was a style full of sparkle, of striking combinations, of point and epigram, of efforts after a *curiosa felicitas* often running into far-fetched conceits. The diction received a considerable admixture of archaistic and poetic expressions. Instead of the period we have a rapid sequence of short abrupt and often disconnected sentences, instead of the fulness of Ciceronian phraseology affected brevity and condensation. But with the accession of the Flavian dynasty a literary reaction had taken place and a considerable effort had been made to introduce a style more resembling the simpler and more natural style of the earlier period. Tacitus had studied this new style and had been considerably influenced by it as the *Dialogus* shows. When he wrote the *Agricola* he had by no means abandoned it.

(5) But this style, not altogether suitable to historical writing of any kind, did not suit at all the character of Tacitus when he set to work in middle life to describe at length the doings of the people in times which included the reigns of Tiberius, Nero and Domitian. Caesar, Sallust and Livy would probably have been the natural models for a historian of Tacitus's time to form his style upon. But these, though he had studied them (especially the second) and drew upon them particularly in matters of diction and construction, could not give him the form of expression which his temperament demanded when it emerged from the tomb of his Domitianic exile. He chose rather to frame a style of his own, on the model of the earlier post-Augustan writers. In his hands this style was something like what it had been in theirs, and yet different. The brevity, the condensation, the unconventional expression, the allusive speech, the epigrammatic combinations, the poetic diction, are all there, but the purpose in using them is all different. It is not a means of playing with a subject, of showing off as a poet or as a substitute for living action, but the instruments of a vivid historical narrative, of an earnestness which, if it

could not persuade others to share his interest, would at least force them to give him their attention.

(6) His mind was thronged with historical scenes, with profound reflexions, the result of keen insight and digested experience, and these are presented in language the most pregnant that his skill can devise, in the fewest words that can carry them to the reader. But there is no sacrifice of completeness to brevity. Every description or reflexion is complete with the completeness of a cartoon; it gives in bold outlines all that is necessary to pourtray the subject and leaves it to the intelligent reader to fill in all obvious details. Nor are brevity and rapidity incompatible with dignity. His narrative advances in quick marching sentences but always with the self-restrained orderly movement of heavily armed thought. Tacitus in fact is always dignified and grand because he is so tremendously in earnest. Trite commonplace, triviality of any sort in thought or expression he abhors. Even the most ordinary facts and incidents are invested with a dignity appropriate to them as parts of his work. Nor is there any want of artistic form and finish, unlike as it is to the Ciceronian. With all the quick movements, abrupt transitions, and avoidance of uniformity, there results as the whole effect an artistic unity very satisfying to the mind of the reader.

(7) But it is in its power of suggestion that Tacitus found perhaps his favourite instrument in the style he adopted. His purpose was not purely objective history. He wanted to convey himself through his history, his own mind, his beliefs, his misgivings, his indignation, his impatience of the corruptions of the Romans of Rome, of their mean materialisms and frivolities, their helplessness, their servility. For this purpose this close pregnant language (language of three dimensions, if one may say so), suggesting more than it carried on the surface, was a powerful instrument. Allusive, indirect often and covert, with the studied novelty of expression and innuendo which his predecessors used for amusement, his style is used by him not only to arrest attention, but also to awaken curiosity, to excite his readers to speculate on what was in the mind of the writer.

A single word or phrase in a sentence describing a matter of fact will sometimes suggest a moral problem or disclose to *συγγραφεὶ* a whole train of thought in the writer's mind.

(8) The principal linguistic peculiarities of his style are, the preference of *parataxis* over *syntaxis*, the absence of all insignificant words (e.g. auxiliaries), asyndetism, the use of hendiadys, i.e. two substantives as capable of more meaning than one qualified substantive, the use of adjectives and participles instead of subordinate, relative or conjunctive, sentences, especially the use of an adjective and substantive as the equivalent of a sentence introduced by *quod*='the fact that,' frequent use of the historic infinitive, poetic constructions, especially the infinitive where earlier prose usage required *ut* with the subjunctive, poetic words and phrases, chiefly Vergilian, simple instead of more usual compound verbs. Examples of these features in his style may be found by consulting the Index at the end of the volume.

(9) This style reached its fullest development in the Annals, the latest of his works. The Agricola still retains considerable traces of the influence of the New-Ciceronian style in its more open, expanded, and rounded form of expression. The Germania is the first work of the Tacitean style proper, and naturally it is not the most favourable specimen of it. It is disfigured here and there by bad taste, it is sometimes grandiose rather than grand, and pompous instead of dignified. Clearness and precision are occasionally sacrificed to brevity, and, speaking generally, his art has not yet sufficiently learned to conceal itself.

THE AGRICOLA AND THE GERMANIA.

(1) When Tacitus wrote the AGRICOLA, he had already begun the Histories. In these the actions of Agricola in Britain would in due course have been described. But the *pietas* of the son-in-law demanded an earlier and fuller recognition of the virtues and merits of his great father-in-law. Hence the publication of the *Liber de vita et moribus Cn. Iulii Agricolae* in A.D. 98. An earlier date is assigned to it by

some, mainly on the ground that Nerva is mentioned without the prefix *Divus*, which they contend must have been applied to him had he been dead. But it is difficult to believe that the words in c. 44, *principem Traianum videre*, could apply to a state of things before Nerva's death. A stronger argument still for the later date is afforded by the words in c. 3, *quamquam... Nerva Traianus*. Tacitus would hardly make such a comparison in Nerva's life-time and could hardly speak of Nerva Traianus 'daily augmenting, &c.,' during the three months of Trajan's connexion with Nerva when he was away from Rome, and fully occupied with his duties on the Rhine.

(2) The book is divided into three parts, the preface, the life of Agricola and the epilogue. The second part is prefaced with a description of Britain and a short account of the Roman operations in Britain before Agricola's governorship of the island. Exception has been taken to the arrangement of cc. 11—13, on the ground that ll. 26 fol. of c. 12 interrupt the description of the inhabitants of the country which is resumed at the beginning of c. 13 from l. 25 of c. 12. It has even been proposed to transfer the words *In pedite...vincuntur* to c. 13 to stand before the words *igitur primus*. But the few words at the beginning of c. 13, on the feeling of the Britons towards their conquerors, seem to be intended to form a transition from the general account of their habits and land to the account of their conquest, and are therefore appropriately placed where they stand.

(3) The preface is long, especially if we compare it with the prefaces to the longer works. But, as Wex says, this was his first essay in historical writing, the first written utterance of a mind set free from Domitian, luxuriating in free speech. It is naturally somewhat effusive, and is rather a general preface to his Histories, telling people what to expect there, than simply a preface to his monograph on Agricola.

(4) The Agricola is not a political pamphlet under cover of a biography. The object of it is direct and declared; it is to satisfy the claims of the author's affection, to pay a just tribute to a great man, and to save the example of a noble life for

the benefit of mankind that it is written. There is no veiled purpose, political or other, in it. To paint Agricola's life in bright colours was necessarily to bring out all the blackness of Domitian, while the moderation of Agricola, which enabled him to elude Domitian's attempts on his life, required to be justified at the expense of those who uselessly courted martyrdom (c. 42). The noble passage with which the Life is closed (cc. 43—46) contains only reflexions which naturally arise out of the contemplation of Agricola's life and death. The materials for his biography must, one would suppose, have been derived from Agricola himself, and practically furnish all our information on the subject. The few difficulties that are presented are due to the impossibility of identifying in all cases the Roman names of particular localities.

(5) The GERMANIA was probably published in 98 or 99, about the time of Trajan's return from Germany to assume his imperial functions in Rome. Like the Agricola it is a monograph on a subject which was to find its place in the extended history of the Histories and the Annals. The motive for its publication was apparently the pressing importance, in Tacitus' opinion, of the 'German question' and the necessity for vigorous action to secure the safety of the Roman empire against the dangers with which it was threatened from German strength. To Tacitus and doubtless to other thoughtful Romans, who had the means of forming a judgment, it seemed possible that, if the Germans were allowed to unite, the result might be a struggle for life and death between them and Rome. The return of Trajan was a favourable opportunity for ventilating his views, for trying to impart some of his anxiety to his thoughtless countrymen. The operations of the new emperor had necessarily turned men's thoughts towards the German peoples. It is needless in a short Introduction to give an account of these operations. They may be read in Merivale or Capes. It is enough to suggest the connexion between those operations, and the publication of the Germania. A vigorous and successful soldier was on the throne, one who was "instinct with the old Roman ambition to gain triumphs and annex

provinces¹." Here was the opportunity to direct that vigour and ability to where Tacitus (perhaps from personal observation in the country) believed the danger to be greatest, and, if he could not rouse his corrupt countrymen to patriotic feeling, to work upon their fears and incline them to active precautions against an enemy who might perhaps seriously interfere with their comfort. Germans had given Rome trouble and cost her serious disasters over a space of 200 years, from the Cimbric invasion to the Varian disaster. They had taken all that time to conquer and they were not conquered yet. So far from that, their conquest, properly speaking, as the increased knowledge of later years showed, could hardly be said to have been begun. For the information gained about them in comparatively recent times and confined as yet to a comparatively few persons, proved them to be a people of enormous strength, occupying, with barbarian neighbours more or less related to them, a territory of almost boundless extent. Hitherto the gods had favoured Rome, and wasted the German strength in exhausting inter-tribal conflicts. But what (and the question seemed naturally to suggest itself) if the gods should desert Rome, and favour those who seemed in so many ways so much more deserving of their favour? What if the Germans should realise that they were branches of one great stock, and instead of fighting one another unite to attack a common enemy, an enemy whose possessions offered a prospect of unlimited plunder, an enemy with whose strength and weakness they were every day becoming better acquainted?

(6) This seems to be the dominant thought of the work, this the purpose of the elaborate description of the lives, habits, morals and institutions of the German peoples. This too seems to be the purpose underlying the ethnographical portion, in which the German tribes are, as it were, marched past the Romans in a succession of more or less huge forms covering a vast area of land. This too would seem to be the object of the running comparison between the free simple-lived strong-bodied

¹ Merivale, *General History of Rome*, p. 515.

Germans and the servile, corrupt, enervated Romans of the capital. That contrast was no doubt only the natural expression of the writer's temper. It would very probably have been made under any circumstances. But under existing circumstances it served a purpose beyond the purpose of earnest sarcasm. It would help to alarm the people he was writing for. It might set them thinking what might be the result of a contest between Romans and a people as yet untainted by Roman vices.

(7) In keeping with this purpose also is the element of Romance in the *Germania* which the German commentator on this work, Prof. Baumstark, has pointed out and illustrated at considerable length. This does not mean that the work is not in the strictest sense historical. It *is* a historical work containing all the best and most trustworthy information on the subject that could be obtained at the time. Tacitus would have defeated his own object by not making his description as accurate as he possibly could. But where an opportunity occurs to heighten the effect of his statements of fact by language suggesting a feeling of something, in a sense, unearthly and gigantic in the land and people, he takes it. This is seen in his dwelling on out of the way practices among them, not really essential to his subject, in single phrases and epithets, and, generally, in a poetic colouring that he gives to his narrative.

(8) If the view taken of the purpose of the book is correct, it would seem that Tacitus must have had materials for it ready, which he could throw into shape at a short notice. He must have been studying the subject for some time before he produced his pamphlet. The sources of information open to him were considerable. Caesar he seems to have handled as a critic rather than a learner, as a comparison of parallel statements in the two would show. Tacitus' information is a good deal fuller than Caesar's on the points which the latter deals with, and in some cases his statements are corrected. Livy's history, in the later books now lost, contained accounts of the German wars from Caesar's time to his own, and incidentally no doubt some information on geographical and other points. The

Natural History of the elder Pliny and still more his now lost work on the German wars, as well as the geographical work of Pomponius Mela, no doubt furnished Tacitus with considerable materials. But he doubtless drew his materials from oral as well as from written sources. There is no proof that Tacitus ever travelled in Germany himself. He was absent from Rome for four years as he tells us himself (Agric. c. 45). But where he was is not known for certain. Many Romans however travelled in Germany for military and other purposes, and commerce, especially the amber-trade, brought many Germans to Italy, and some of them Germans from the remoter parts of Germany. From these a man like Tacitus interested in learning all he could about the Germans could and no doubt would learn many details unknown to earlier writers.

(9) The Germania is divided by the author into two distinct, but by no means disconnected portions. One (cc. 1—27) gives an account of the German people as a whole, of their land, origin, religion, institutions, and habits of life, public and private. The other (cc. 28—end) deals with the several members of the German aggregate, describing the geographical position of each, and, where necessary, giving special information about the previous history or the existing institutions of individual tribes.

At the end of cc. 1—5, which contain a brief sketch of the geographical position, climate and products of the country with remarks on the traditional accounts of the origin and main divisions of the people, an observation on the scarcity of iron, as well as of the precious metals, serves to introduce a description of the German weapons, their modes of warfare and military institutions (cc. 6—8). This subject, by a transition naturally suggested by ll. 18—24 in c. 8, is followed by an account (c. 9) of their religion generally and their modes of auspice-taking in particular. Tacitus then proceeds (cc. 11—14) to describe the general assembly of the people, its procedure and functions as the supreme deliberative and judicial body in the state. The civil functions of the *principes* are dismissed in a few words, Tacitus dwelling at more length on what he evidently regarded

as one of the most characteristic features in the public institutions of the Germans, the military position of the *princeps* and his relation to his *comitatus*. C. 15 contains a brief description of the life of the German warrior in time of peace and of some of the privileges of the chieftains, and with this the account of the public life of the people concludes. Cc. 16—27 contain their private life and domestic habits, beginning (c. 16) with the description of their village settlements and houses, and going on (c. 17) to their clothing. This by a somewhat unexpected but very suggestive turn of thought is connected with the subject of marriage and marriage customs, the account of which occupies cc. 18, 19. Marriage suggests children, and in c. 20 the bringing-up of children is described in connexion with relationships and inheritance. This leads the way to the subject of feuds and friendships (c. 21), the latter to that of general hospitality. In connexion with the last follows naturally an account of the food, drink, feasts of the people (cc. 22, 23) and of their amusements (c. 24). Of these the most remarkable, gambling, is intimately connected with slavery which with freedmanship forms the subject of c. 25. C. 26 deals shortly with the allotment of landed property and the cultivation of the land. The whole concludes appropriately with an account of the German funeral observances.

In the second portion of the book Tacitus begins by speaking of the non-German peoples in Germany¹ and of the German peoples, so-called², outside Germany, touching at the end of c. 29 on the Agri Decumates and their population of inferior Gauls. From c. 30 he begins his account of the true German peoples in two grand divisions, non-Suebian (cc. 30—37) and Suebian (cc. 38—45). The non-Suebian group begins with the Chatti (c. 30). Next to these come the other western tribes, the Tencteri, Usipi, Bructeri, Chamavi and Angrivarii; after these, those that lay to the E. and N.E. of them, and lastly the Cimbri in the peninsula named after them, in connexion with

¹ On these and on the geographical positions of the Roman peoples, see the notes *in loc.*

² Cf. c. 28, l. 10, note.

whom is introduced a sketch of the Roman conflict with Germany, extending over two hundred years.

C. 38 contains the account of the general characteristics of the Suebian Germans, among whom the Semnones (c. 39) hold the first place. These with the Langobardi and the seven peoples connected by the common worship of Nerthus form the northern portion of the Suebian Germans. The southern consists of the Hermunduri, Marcomanni, Varisti, and Quadi. South-east from these lie the Marsigni and Buri and north-east the several communities of the Lugii among whom the Nahanarvali and the Harii are singled out for special mention on account of remarkable religious or military peculiarities. Next follow to the north and east of these the monarchical states of the Gotones, Rugii and Lemovii, and the account of the undoubtedly Suebian-German peoples ends with the description of the despot-ruled Suiones and Sitones of Scandinavia¹. To the account of these two peoples is appended a description of the northern sea, while the mention of the Aestii, a people of doubtful nationality occupying the amber country, gives occasion for a somewhat lengthy account of the nature and properties of that article of Roman commerce.

C. 46 contains some account of the mixed peoples, partly German, partly Sarmatian, bordering on the true Germans, and ends with brief allusion to some remote tribes whose claim to be considered human, let alone German, is doubtful.

(10) The historical value of the *Germania* is admirably summed up by Bishop Stubbs in his *Constitutional History*, the earlier chapters of which should be carefully read by students of Tacitus' work. Vol. I. p. 17 he says "the *Germania* is an inestimable treasury of facts and generalisations, but it is not without many serious difficulties arising partly from the different stages of civilization and political organization which the several tribes must be supposed to have reached. In attempting to compress into a general sketch the main features of so large a family of tribes, the historian is scarcely able to avoid

¹ See note on Text, c. 45, l. 17.

some inconsistencies; and it is possible that his eye was caught in some instances rather by the points in which the German institutions were contrasted with the Roman, than by those which expressed their essential character. But of the general faithfulness of the outline we have no doubt: the little inconsistencies of detail serve to preserve additional facts; and the generality of statement enables us to obtain the idea of the common Germanic system, which is approximately true of it at every stage of its early development, although there may never have been a time at which the whole description in its exact details was true of any portion of it."

CORNELII TACITI
DE VITA ET MORIBUS
IULII AGRICOLAE
LIBER.

*The difficult position of biographers in these days. The times in which 1
it was a capital offence to praise virtues have passed away, but the
evil effects of them remain in intellectual enervation, and a vitiated
taste. Tacitus feels it necessary to plead duty to the memory of a
5 near relation as his motive for writing this biography.*

CLARORUM virorum facta moresque posteris tradere,
antiquitus usitatum, ne nostris quidem temporibus quam-
quam incuriosa suorum aetas omisit, quotiens magna aliqua
ac nobilis virtus vicit ac supergressa est vitium parvis
10 magnisque civitatibus commune, ignorantiam recti et in-
vidiam. sed apud priores ut agere digna memoratu prorum
magisque in aperto erat, ita celeberrimus quisque ingenio
ad prodendam virtutis memoriam sine gratia aut ambitione
bonae tantum conscientiae pretio ducebatur, ac plerique
15 suam ipsi vitam narrare fiduciam potius morum quam adro-
gantiam arbitrati sunt, nec id Rutilio et Scauro citra fidem
aut obtreptioni fuit: adeo virtutes isdem temporibus
optime aestimantur, quibus facillime gignuntur. at nunc
narraturo mihi vitam defuncti hominis venia opus fuit, quam
20 non petissem incusaturus tam saeva et infesta virtutibus
tempora.

2 Legimus, cum Aruleno Rustico Paetus Thrasea, Herennio Senecioni Priscus Helvidius laudati essent, capitale fuisse, neque in ipsos modo auctores, sed in libros quoque eorum saevitum, delegato triumviris ministerio ut monumenta clarissimorum ingeniorum in comitio ac foro urerentur. 5 scilicet illo igne vocem populi Romani et libertatem senatus et conscientiam generis humani aboleri arbitrabantur, expulsis insuper sapientiae professoribus atque omni bona arte in exilium acta, ne quid usquam honestum occurreret. dedimus profecto grande patientiae documentum; et sicut 10 vetus aetas vidit quid ultimum in libertate esset, ita nos quid in servitute, adempto per inquisitiones etiam loquendi audiendique commercio. memoriam quoque ipsam cum voce perdidissemus, si tam in nostra potestate esset oblivisci quam tacere. 15

3 Nunc demum redit animus; et quamquam primo statim beatissimi saeculi ortu Nerva Caesar res olim dissociabiles miscuerit, principatum ac libertatem, augeatque quotidie felicitatem temporum Nerva Traianus, nec spem modo ac votum securitas publica, sed ipsius voti fiduciam ac robur 20 adsumperit, natura tamen infirmitatis humanae tardiora sunt remedia quam mala; et ut corpora nostra lente augeant, cito extinguuntur, sic ingenia studiaque oppresseris facilius quam revocaveris. subit quippe etiam ipsius inertiae dulcedo, et invisa primo desidia postremo amatur. quid? 25 si per quindecim annos, grande mortalis aevi spatium, multi fortuitis casibus, promptissimus quisque saevitia principis interciderunt, pauci, ut ita dixerim, non modo aliorum sed etiam nostri superstites sumus, exemptis e media vita tot annis, quibus iuvenes ad senectutem, senes prope ad 30 ipsos exactae aetatis terminos per silentium venimus. non tamen pigebit vel incondita ac rudi voce memoriam prioris servitutis ac testimonium praesentium bonorum compo-

suisse. hic interim liber honori Agricolae soceri mei destinatus, professione pietatis aut laudatus erit aut excusatus.

A.D. 39—62. *Agricola's birth, family, and education.*

4

Gnaeus Iulius Agricola, vetere et inlustri Foroiuliensium
5 colonia ortus, utrumque avum procuratorem Caesarum habuit, quae equestris nobilitas est. pater illi Iulius Graecinus senatorii ordinis, studio eloquentiae sapientiaeque notus, iisque ipsis virtutibus iram Gai Caesaris meritus: namque M. Silanum accusare iussus et, quia abnuerat, interfectus
10 est. mater Iulia Procilla fuit, rarae castitatis. in huius sinu indulgentiaque educatus per omnem honestarum artium cultum pueritiam adulescentiamque transegit. arcebat eum ab inlecebris peccantium praeter ipsius bonam integramque naturam, quod statim parvulus sedem ac magistratam studiorum Massiliam habuit, locum Graeca comitate,
15 et provinciali parsimonia mixtum ac bene compositum. memoria teneo solitum ipsum narrare se prima in iuventa studium philosophiae acrius, ultra quam concessum Romano ac senatori, hausisse, ni prudentia matris incensum
20 ac flagrantem animum coercuisset. scilicet sublime et erectum ingenium pulchritudinem ac speciem magnae excelsaeque gloriae vehementius quam caute adpetebat. mox mitigavit ratio et aetas, retinuitque, quod est difficillimum, ex sapientia modum.

25 *He first sees service in Britain under Suetonius Paulinus.*

5

Prima castrorum rudimenta in Britannia Suetonio Paulino, diligenti ac moderato duci, adprobavit, electus quem contubernio aestimaret. nec Agricola licenter, more iuvenum, qui militiam in lasciviam vertunt, neque segnitè ad
30 voluptates et commeatus titulum tribunatus. et inscitiam rettulit; sed noscere provinciam, nosci exercitui, discere a

peritis, sequi optimos, nihil adpetere in iactationem, nihil ob formidinem recusare simulque et anxius et intentus agere. non sane alias exercitior magisque in ambiguo Britannia fuit: trucidati veterani, incensae coloniae, intercepti exercitus; tum de salute, mox de victoria certavere. 5 quae cuncta etsi consiliis ductuque alterius agebantur, ac summa rerum et reciperatae provinciae gloria in ducem cessit, artem et usum et stimulos addidere iuveni, intravitque animum militaris gloriae cupido, ingrata temporibus, quibus sinistra erga eminentes interpretatio nec minus periculum ex magna fama quam ex mala.

6 A.D. 63—68. *His marriage. He serves the offices of Quaestor, Tribune and Praetor. He is appointed by Galba to examine the property of the temples.*

Hinc ad capessendos magistratus in urbem digressus 15 Domitiam Decidianam, splendidis natalibus ortam, sibi iunxit; idque matrimonium ad maiora nitenti decus ac robur fuit. vixeruntque mira concordia, per mutuam caritatem et in vicem se antepōnendo, nisi quod in bona uxore tanto maior laus, quanto in mala plus culpa est. sors. 20 quaesturae provinciam Asiam, pro consule Salvium Titianum dedit, quorum neutro corruptus est, quamquam et provincia dives ac parata peccantibus, et pro consule in omnem aviditatem pronus quantalibet facilitate redempturus esset mutuam dissimulationem mali. auctus est ibi 25 filia, in subsidium simul et solacium; nam filium ante sublatum brevi amisit. mox inter quaesturam ac tribunatum plebis atque ipsum etiam tribunatus annum quiete et otio transiit, gnarus sub Nerone temporum, quibus inertia pro sapientia fuit. idem praeturae tenor et silentium; nec 30 enim iurisdictio obvenerat. ludos et inania honoris medio rationis atque abundantiae duxit, uti longe a luxuria, ita

famae propior. tum electus a Galba ad dona templorum recognoscenda diligentissima conquisitione effecit, ne cuius alterius sacrilegium res publica quam Neronis sensisset,

A.D. 69—72. *Violent death of his mother. He is stopped on his way* 7
 5 *to attend her funeral by news of the assumption of imperial power by Vespasian, whose side he at once joins, and by whom he is appointed to the command of the twentieth legion in Britain. In this position he displays remarkable ability, forbearance, and tact.*

Sequens annus gravi vulnere animum domumque eius
 10 afflixit. nam classis Othoniana licenter vaga dum Intimilium (Liguriae pars est) hostiliter populatur, matrem Agricolae in praediis suis interfecit, praediaque ipsa et magnam patrimonii partem diripuit, quae causa caedis fuerat. igitur
 15 ad sollemnia pietatis profectus Agricola, nuntio adfectati a Vespasiano imperii deprehensus ac statim in partes transgressus est. initia principatus ac statum urbis Mucianus regebat, iuvene admodum Domitiano et ex paterna fortuna tantum licentiam usurpante. is missum ad dilectus agendos
 20 Agricolam integreque ac strenue versatum vicensimae legioni tarde ad sacramentum transgressae praeposuit, ubi decessor seditiose agere narrabatur: quippe legatis quoque consularibus nimia ac formidolosa erat, nec legatus praetorius ad cohibendum potens, incertum suo an militum ingenio, ita successor simul et ultor electus rarissima moderatione
 25 maluit videri invenisse bonos quam fecisse.

Praerat tunc Britanniae Vettius Bolanus, placidius quam 8
 feroci provincia dignum est. temperavit Agricola vim suam ardoremque compescuit, ne incresceret, peritus obsequi eruditusque utilia honestis miscere. brevi deinde Britannia
 30 consularem Petilium Cerialem accepit. habuerunt virtutes spatium exemplorum, sed primo Cerialis labores modo et discrimina, mox et gloriam communicabat: saepe parti

exercitus in experimentum, aliquando maioribus copiis ex eventu praefecit. nec Agricola umquam in suam famam gestis exsultavit: ad auctorem ac ducem ut minister fortunam referebat. ita virtute in obsequendo, verecundia in praedicando extra invidiam nec extra gloriam erat.

5

- 9 A.D. 73—78. *Returning from this command he receives from Vespasian the honor of the patriciate, and is appointed Governor of Aquitania. Returning from there in less than three years, he is made consul and at the end of his year appointed Governor of Britain.*

Revertentem ab legatione legionis divus Vespasianus inter patricios adscivit; ac deinde provinciae Aquitaniae prae-
posuit, splendidae inprimis dignitatis administratione) ac spe
consulatus, cui destinarat. credunt plerique militaribus in-
geniis subtilitatem deesse, quia castrensis iurisdictio secura
et obtusior ac plura manu agens calliditatem fori non exer-
ceat. Agricola naturali prudentia, quamvis inter togatos, fa-
cile iusteque agebat. iam vero tempora curarum remissio-
numque divisa: ubi conventus ac iudicia poscerent, gravis
intentus severus, et saepius misericors: ubi officio satis
factum, nulla ultra potestatis persona; tristitiam et adrogan-
tiam et avaritiam exuerat. nec illi, quod est rarissimum,
aut facilitas auctoritatem aut severitas amorem deminuit.
integritatem atque abstinenciam in tanto viro referre iniuria
virtutum fuerit. ne famam quidem, cui saepe etiam boni in-
dulgent, ostentanda virtute aut per artem quaesivit: procul
ab aemulatione adversus collegas, procul a contentione ad-
versus procuratores et vincere inglorium et atteri sordidum
arbitrabatur. minus triennium in ea legatione detentus ac
statim ad spem consulatus revocatus est, comitante opinione
Britanniam ei provinciam dari, nullis in hoc suis sermoni-
bus, sed quia par videbatur. haud semper errat fama;
aliquando et elegit. consul egregiae tum spei filiam iu-

15

20

25

30

veni mihi despondit ac post consulatum collocavit, et statim Britanniae praepositus est, adiecto pontificatus sacerdotio.

Description of Britain and its inhabitants.

10

5 Britanniae situm populosque multis scriptoribus memoratos non in comparationem curae ingeniive referam, sed quia tum primum perdomita est: ita quae priores nondum comperta eloquentia percoluere, rerum fide tradentur. Britannia, insularum quas Romana notitia complectitur maxima,
 10 spatio ac caelo in orientem, Germaniae, in occidentem Hispaniae obtenditur, Gallis in meridiem etiam inspicitur; septentrionalia eius, nullis contra terris, vasto atque aperto mari pulsantur. formam totius Britanniae Livius veterum, Fabius Rusticus recentium eloquentissimi auctores oblongae
 15 scutulae vel bipenni adsimulavere. et est ea facies citra Caledoniam, unde et in universam fama est transgressa, sed inmensum et enorme spatium procurrentium extremo iam litore terrarum velut in cuneum tenuatur. hanc oram novissimi maris tunc primum Romana classis circumvecta insulam
 20 esse Britanniam adfirmavit, ac simul incognitas ad id tempus insulas, quas Orcadas vocant, invenit domuitque. dispecta est et Thule, quia hactenus iussum: et hiems adpetebat. sed mare pigrum et grave remigantibus perhibent ne ventis quidem perinde attolli, credo quod rariores terrae montesque,
 25 causam ac materia tempestatum, et profunda moles continui maris tardius impellitur. naturam Oceani atque aestus neque quaerere huius operis est, ac multi rettulere: unum addiderim, nusquam latius dominari mare, multum fluminum huc atque illuc ferre, nec litore tenus ad crescere aut resorberi,
 30 sed influere penitus atque ambire, et iugis etiam ac montibus inseri velut in suo.

11 Ceterum Britanniam qui mortales initio coluerint, indigenae an advecti, ut inter barbaros parum compertum. habitus corporum varii atque ex eo argumenta. namque rutilae Caledoniam habitantium comae, magni artus Germanicam originem adseverant; Silurum colorati vultus, torti plerum-⁵que crines et posita contra Hispania Hiberos veteres traiecis-
 se easque sedes occupasse fidem faciunt; proximi Gallis et similes sunt, seu durante originis vi, seu procurrentibus in diversa terris positio caeli corporibus habitum dedit, in universum tamen aestimanti Gallos vicinam insulam occu-¹⁰passe credibile est. eorum sacra deprehendas, superstitionum persuasiones; sermo haud multum diversus, in deposcendis periculis eadem audacia et, ubi advenire, in detrectandis eadem formido. plus tamen ferociae Britanni praeferunt, ut quos nondum longa pax emollierit. nam Gallos quoque in¹⁵ bellis floruisse accepimus; mox segnitia cum otio intravit, amissa virtute pariter ac libertate. quod Britannorum olim victis evenit ceteri manent quales Galli fuerunt.

12 In peditate robur; quaedam nationes et curru proeliantur. honestior auriga, clientes propugnant, olim regibus pare-²⁰bant, nunc per principes factionibus et studiis distrahuntur. nec aliud adversus validissimas gentis pro nobis utilius quam quod in commune non consulunt. rarus duabus tribusve civitatibus ad propulsandum commune periculum conventus: ita singuli pugnant, universi vincuntur. caelum cre-²⁵bris imbribus ac nebulis foedum; asperitas frigoribus abest. dierum spatia ultra nostri orbis mensuram; nox clara et extrema Britanniae parte brevis, ut finem atque initium lucis exiguo discrimine internoscas. quod si nubes non officiant, aspici per noctem solis fulgorem, nec occidere et exsurgere,³⁰ sed transire adfirmant. scilicet extrema et plana terrarum humili umbra, non erigunt tenebras, infraque caelum et sidera nox cadit. solum praeter oleam vitemque et cetera

calidioribus terris oriri sueta patiens frugum, fecundum: tarde mitescunt, cito proveniunt; eademque utriusque rei causa, multus umor ferrarum caelique. fert Britannia aurum et argentum et alia metalla, pretium victoriae. gignit et Oceanus margarita, sed subfusca ac liventia. quidam autem abesse legentibus arbitrantur; nam in rubro mari viva ac spirantia saxis avelli, in Britannia, prout expulsa sint, colligi: ego facilius crediderim naturam margaritis deesse quam nobis avaritiam.

10 *History of Roman interference in Britain from the invasion by Julius Caesar to the partial subjugation of the country by Claudius. The governors of the province of Britain to Suetonius Paulinus.* 13

Ipsi Britanni dilectum ac tributa et iniuncta imperii munera impigre obeunt, si iniuriæ absint: has aegre tolerant, iam domiti ut pareant, nondum ut serviant. igitur primus omnium Romanorum divus Iulius cum exercitu Britanniam ingressus, quamquam prospera pugna terruerit incolas ac litore potitus sit, potest videri ostendisse posteris, non tradidisse. mox bella civilia et in rem publicam versa principum arma, ac longa oblivio Britanniae etiam in pace: consilium id divus Augustus vocabat, Tiberius praeceptum. agitasse Gaium Caesarem de intranda Britannia satis constat, ni velox ingenio mobili paenitentiae, et ingentes adversus Germaniam conatus frustra fuissent. divus Claudius auctor iterati operis, transvectis legionibus auxiliisque et adsumpto in partem rerum Vespasiano, quod initium venturae mox fortunae fuit: domitæ gentes, capti reges et monstratus fatis Vespasianus.

Consularium primus Aulus Plautius praepositus ac subinde Ostorius Scapula, uterque bello egregius: redactaque paulatim in formam provinciae proxima pars Britanniae; addita insuper veteranorum colonia. quaedam civitates 14

Cogidumno regi donatae (is ad nostram usque memoriam fidissimus mansit), vetere ac iam pridem recepta populi Romani consuetudine, ut haberet instrumenta servitutis et reges. mox Didius Gallus parta a prioribus continuit, paucis admodum castellis in ulteriora promotis, per quae fama 5 aucti officii quaereretur. Didium Veranius excepit, isque intra annum extinctus est. Suetonius hinc Paulinus biennio prosperas res habuit, subactis nationibus firmatisque praesidiis; quorum fiducia Monam insulam ut vires rebellibus ministrantem adgressus terga occasione patefecit. 10

- 15 *The insurrection under Boadicea. The Britons are defeated and reduced to submission by Suetonius Paulinus, but under his incompetent successors the province becomes disorganised.*

Namque absentia legati remoto metu Britannī agitare inter se mala servitutis, conferre iniurias et interpretando 15 accendere: nihil profici patientia nisi ut graviora tamquam ex facili tolerantibus imperentur. singulos sibi olim reges fuisse, nunc binos imponi, e quibus legatus in sanguinem, procurator in bona saeviret. aequae discordiam praepositorum, aequae concordiam subjectis exitiosam. alterius enim 20 centuriones, alterius servos vim et contumelias miscere. nihil iam cupiditati, nihil libidini exceptum. in proelio fortiores esse qui spoliet: nunc ab ignavis plerumque et imbellibus eripi domos, abstrahi liberos, iniungi dilectus, tamquam mori tantum pro patria nescientibus. . quantulum 25 enim transisse militum, si sese Britannī numerent? sic Germanias excussisse iugum: et flumine, non Oceano defendi. sibi patriam coniuges parentes, illis avaritiam et luxuriam causas belli esse. recessuros, ut divus Iulius recessisset, modo virtutem maiorum suorum aemularentur. 30 neve proelii unius aut alterius eventu pavescerent: plus impetus *integris*, maiorem constantiam penes miseros esse.

iam Britannorum etiam deos misereri, qui Romanum ducem
absentem, qui relegatum in alia insula exercitum detinerent;
iam ipsos, quod difficillimum fuerit, deliberare. porro in
eius modi consiliis periculosius esse deprehendi quam
5 audere.

His atque talibus in vicem instincti, Boudicca generis 16
regii femina duce (neque enim sexum in imperiis discernunt)
sumpsere universi bellum; ac sparsos per castella milites
consecrati, expugnatis praesidiis ipsam coloniam invasere ut
10 sedem servitutis, nec ullum in barbaris saevitiae genus
omisit ira et victoria. quod nisi Paulinus cognito provinciae
motu propere subvenisset, amissa Britannia foret; quam
unius proelii fortuna veteri patientiae restituit, tenentibus
arma plerisque, quos conscientia defectionis et proprius ex
15 legato timor agitabat, ne quamquam egregius cetera adro-
ganter in deditos et ut suae cuiusque iniuriae ultor durius
consuleret, missus igitur Petronius Turpilianus tamquam
exorabilior et delictis hostium novus eoque paenitentiae
mitior, compositis prioribus nihil ultra ausus Trebellio
20 Maximo provinciam tradidit. Trebellius segnior et nullis
castrorum experimentis, comitate quadam curandi pro-
vinciam tenuit. didicere iam barbari quoque ignoscere
vitiis blandientibus, et interventus civilium armorum prae-
buit iustam segnitiae excusationem: sed discordia laboratum, ?
25 cum adsuetus expeditionibus miles otio lasciviret. Tre-
bellius, fuga ac latebris vitata exercitus ira indecorus atque
humilis, precario mox praefuit, ac velut pacti, exercitus
licentiam, dux salutem esset, seditio sine sanguine stetit.
nec Vettius Bolanus, manentibus adhuc civilibus bellis,
30 agitavit Britanniam disciplina: eadem inertia erga hostis,
similis petulantia castrorum, nisi quod innocens Bolanus et
nullis delictis invisus caritatem paraverat loco auctoritatis.

- 17 *Vigorous measures of Vespasian; Petilius Cerialis attacks with considerable success the powerful Brigantes, and his successor Julius Frontinus reduces the Silures.*

Sed ubi cum cetero orbe Vespasianus et Britanniam recipaverit, magni duces, egregii exercitus, minuta hostium 5 spes. et terrorem statim intulit Petilius Cerialis, Brigantium civitatem, quae numerosissima provinciae totius perhibetur, adgressus, multa proelia, et aliquando non incruenta; magnamque Brigantium partem aut victoria amplexus est aut bello. et Cerialis quidem alterius successoris curam 10 famamque obruisset: sustinuit[que] molem Iulius Frontinus, vir magnus, quantum licebat, validamque et pugnacem Silurum gentem armis subegit, super virtutem hostium locorum quoque difficultates eluctatus.

- 18 A.D. 78, 79. *Agricola on his arrival defeats the Ordovices and reduces 15 the island of Mona.*

Hunc Britanniae statum, has bellorum vices media iam aestate transgressus Agricola invenit, cum et milites velut omissa expeditione ad securitatem et hostes ad occasionem verterentur. Ordovicum civitas haud multo ante adven- 20 tum eius alam in finibus suis agentem prope universam obriverat, eoque initio erecta provincia. et quibus bellum volentibus erat, probare exemplum ac recentis legati animum opperiri, cum Agricola, quamquam transvecta aestas, sparsi per provinciam numeri, praesumpta apud militem illius 25 anni quies, tarda et contraria bellum incohatur, et plerisque custodiri suspecta potius videbatur, ire obviam discrimini statuit; contractisque legionum vexillis et modica auxiliorum manu, quia in aequum degredi Ordovices non audebant, ipse ante agmen, quo ceteris par animus simili 30 periculo esset, erexit aciem. caesaque prope universa gente, non ignarus instandum famae ac, prout prima cessissent,

terrorem ceteris fore, Monam insulam, a cuius possessione
 revocatum Paulinum rebellionem totius Britanniae supra me-
 moravi, redigere in potestatem animo intendit. sed ut in
 subitis consiliis naves deerant: ratio et constantia ducis
 5 transvexit. depositis omnibus sarcinis lectissimos auxilia-
 rium, quibus nota vada et patrius nandi usus, quo simul
 seque et arma et equos regunt, ita repente inmisit, ut ob-
 stupefacti hostes, qui classem, qui navis, qui mare expecta-
 bant, nihil arduum aut invictum crediderint sic ad bellum
 10 venientibus. ita petita pace ac dedita insula clarus ac
 magnus haberi Agricola, quippe cui ingredienti provinciam,
 quod tempus alij per ostentationem et officiorum ambitum
 transigunt, labor et periculum placuisset. nec Agricola
 prosperitate rerum in vanitatem usus, expeditionem aut
 15 victoriam vocabat victos continuisse; ne laureatis quidem
 gesta prosecutus est, sed ipsa dissimulatione famae famam
 auxit, aestimantibus quanta futuri spe tam magna ta-
 cuisset.

Firm but gentle administration of the province. The wisdom and 19
 20 *farsightedness of Agricola's measures for the establishment of Roman*
authority.

Ceterum animorum provinciae prudens, simulque doctus
 per aliena experimenta parum profici armis, si iniuriae se-
 querentur, causas bellorum statuit excidere. a se suisque
 25 orsus primum domum suam coercuit, quod plerisque haud
 minus arduum est quam provinciam regere. nihil per
 liberos servosque publicae rei, non studiis privatis nec ex
 commendatione aut precibus centurionem militesve ascire,
 sed optimum quemque fidissimum putare. omnia scire,
 30 non omnia exsequi. parvis peccatis veniam, magnis severi-
 tatem commodare; nec poena semper, sed saepius paeni-
 tentia contentus esse; officiis et administrationibus potius

non peccaturos praeponere, quam damnare cum peccassent. frumenti et tributorum exactionem aequalitate munerum mollire, circumcisis quae in quaestum reperta ipso tributo gravius tolerabantur. namque per ludibrium adsidere clausis horreis et emere ultro frumenta ac ludere pretio cogebantur. 5 devortia itinerum et longinquitas regionum indicebatur, ut civitates *pro* proximis hibernis in remota et avia deferrent, donec quod omnibus in promptu erat paucis lucrosus fieret.

20 Haec primo statim anno comprimendo egregiam famam 10 paci circumdedit, quae vel incuria vel intolerantia priorum haud minus quam bellum timebatur. sed ubi aestas advenit, contracto exercitu multus in agmine, laudare modestiam, disiectos coercere; loca castris ipse capere, aestuaria ac silvas ipse praetemptare; et nihil interim apud hostis 15 quietum pati, quo minus subitis excursibus popularetur; atque ubi satis terruerat, parcendo rursus invitamenta pacis ostentare. quibus rebus multae civitates, quae in illum diem ex aequo egerant, datis obsidibus iram posuere, et praesidiis castellisque circumdatae, tanta ratione curaque, 20 ut nulla ante Britanniae nova pars *pariter* illacessita transierit.

21 Sequens hiems saluberrimis consiliis absumpta. namque ut homines dispersi ac rudes eoque in bella faciles quieti et otio per voluptates adsuescerent, hortari privatim, 25 adiuvere publice, ut templa fora domos extruerent, laudando promptos et castigando segnes: ita honoris aemulatio pro necessitate erat. iam vero principum filios liberalibus artibus erudire, et ingenia Britannorum studiis Gallorum anteferre, ut qui modo linguam Romanam abnuebant, eloquentiam 30 concupiscerent. inde etiam habitus nostri honor et frequens toga. paulatimque descensum ad delenimenta vitiorum, porticus et balinea et conviviorum elegantiam.

idque apud imperitos humanitas vocabatur, cum pars servitutis esset.

A.D. 80—82. *Further conquests. Measures taken to secure them.* 22
Agricola contemplates an invasion of Ireland. Description of that
island.

Tertius expeditionum annus novas gentis aperuit, vastatis usque ad Tanaum (aestuario nomen est) nationibus. qua formidine territi hostes quamquam conflictatum saevis tempestatibus exercitum lacessere non ausi; ponendisque
 10 insuper castellis spatium fuit. adnotabant periti non alium ducem opportunitates locorum sapientius legisse; nullum ab Agricola positum castellum aut vi hostium expugnatum aut pactione ac fuga desertum; nam adversus moras obsidionis annuis copiis firmabantur. ita intrepida ibi hiems,
 15 crebrae eruptiones et sibi quisque praesidio, irritis hostibus eoque desperantibus, quia soliti plerumque damna aestatis hibernis eventibus pensare tum aestate atque hieme iuxta pellebantur. nec Agricola umquam per alios gesta avidus intercept: seu centurio seu praefectus incorruptum facti
 20 testem habebat. apud quosdam acerbior in conviciis narrabatur, et erat ut comis bonis, ita adversus malos iniucundus. ceterum ex iracundia nihil supererat secretum, ut silentium eius non timeres: honestius putabat offendere quam odisse.

25 Quarta aestas obtinendis quae percucurrerat insumpta; 23
 ac si virtus exercituum et Romani nominis gloria pateretur, inventus in ipsa Britannia terminus. namque Clota et Bodotria diversi maris aestibus per immensum revectae, angusto terrarum spatio dirimuntur: quod tum praesidiis
 30 firmabatur atque omnis propior sinus tenebatur, summotis velut in aliam insulam hostibus.

24 Quinto expeditionum anno nave prima transgressus ignotas ad id tempus gentis crebris simul ac prosperis proeliis domuit; eamque partem Britanniae quae Hiberniam aspicit copiis instruxit, in spem magis quam ob formidinem, si quidem Hibernia medio inter Britanniam atque Hispaniam sita, et Gallico quoque mari opportuna valentissimam imperii partem magnis in vicem usibus miscuerit. spatium eius, si Britanniae comparetur, angustius, nostri maris insulas superat. solum caelumque et ingenia cultusque hominum haud multum a Britannia differunt: *interiora* 10
parum, melius aditus portusque per commercia et negotiatores cogniti. Agricola expulsam seditione domestica unum ex regulis gentis exceperat ac specie amicitiae in occasionem retinebat. saepe ex eo audiui legione una et modicis auxiliis debellari obtinerique Hiberniam posse; idque etiam 15
adversus Britanniam profuturum, si Romana ubique arma et velut e conspectu libertas tolleretur.

X 25 A.D. 83, 84. *Agricola makes an exploring expedition by land and sea into the country north of the Bodotria. The combined forces of the enemy attack the ninth legion, but are defeated.* 20

U. 25 Ceterum aestate, qua sextum officii annum incohabat, amplexus civitates trans Bodotriam sitas, quia motus universarum ultra gentium et infesta hostibus exercitus itinera timebantur, portus classe exploravit; quae ab Agricola primum adsumpta in partem virium sequebatur egregia specie, 25
cum simul terra, simul mari bellum impelleretur, ac saepe isdem castris pedes equesque et nauticus miles mixti copiis et laetitia sua quisque facta, suos casus attollerent, ac modo silvarum ac montium profunda, modo tempestatum ac fluctuum adversa, hinc terra et hostis, hinc victus Oceanus 30
militari iactantia compararentur. Britannos quoque, ut ex

captivis audiebatur, visa classis obstupefaciebat, tamquam aperto maris sui secreto ultimum victis perfugium clauderetur. ad manus et arma conversi Caledoniam incolentes populi, paratu magno, maiore fama, uti mos est de ignotis, oppugnare ultro castella adorti, metum ut provocantes addiderant; regrediendumque citra Bodotriam et excedendum potius quam pellerentur ignavi specie prudentium admonebant, cum interim cognoscit hostis pluribus agminibus irrupturos. ac ne superante numero et peritia locorum circumiretur, diviso et ipse in tris partes exercitu incescit.

Quod ubi cognitum hosti, mutato repente consilio universi nonam legionem ut maxime invalidam nocte adgressi, inter somnum ac trepidationem caesis vigilibus irrupere. iamque in ipsis castris pugnabatur, cum Agricola iter hostium ab exploratoribus edoctus, et vestigiis insecutus, velocissimos equitum peditumque adsultare tergis pugnantium iubet, mox ab universis adici clamorem; et propinqua luce fulsere signa. ita ancipiti malo territi Britanni; et Romanis rediit animus, ac securi pro salute de gloria certabant. ultro quin etiam erupere, et fuit atrox in ipsis portarum angustiis proelium, donec pulsii hostes, utroque exercitu certante, his, ut tulisse opem, illis, ne eguisse auxilio viderentur. quod nisi paludes et silvae fugientes texissent, debellatum illa victoria foret.

Cuius conscientia ac fama ferox exercitus nihil virtuti suae invium et penetrandam Caledoniam inveniendumque tandem Britanniae terminum continuo proeliorum cursu fremebant. atque illi modo cauti ac sapientes prompti post eventum ac magniloqui erant. iniquissima haec bellorum condicio est: prospera omnes sibi vindicant, adversa uni imputantur. at Britanni non virtute se, sed occasione et arte ducis victos rati, nihil ex adrogantia remittere, quo minus

iuventutem armarent, coniuges ac liberos in loca tuta transferrent, coëtibus ac sacrificiis conspirationem civitatum sancirent. atque ita irritatis utrimque animis discessum.

28 *Mutiny, flight and subsequent adventures of a cohort of Usipi.*

Eadem aestate cohors Usiporum per Germanias con-
scripta et in Britanniam transmissa magnum ac memora-
bile facinus ausa est. occiso centurione ac militibus, qui ad
tradendam disciplinam immixti manipulis exemplum et re-
ctores habebantur, tris liburnicas adactis per vim gubernatoribus ascendere; et uno renavigante, suspectis duobus eo-
que interfectis, nondum vulgato rumore ut miraculum prae-
vehebantur. mox ad aquandum atque utilia raptum egressi et
cum plerisque Britannorum sua defensantium proelio congressi
ac saepe victores, aliquando pulsī, eo ad extremum inopiae
venere, ut infirmissimos suorum, mox sorte ductos vesceren-
tur. atque ita circumvecti Britanniam, amissis per incitiam
regendi navibus, pro praedonibus habitī, primum a Suebis,
mox a Frisiis intercepti sunt. ac fuere quos per commercia
venumdatos et in nostram usque ripam mutatione ementium
adductos indicium tanti casus inlustravit.

29 *Agricola loses his infant son. He advances to the Grampian hills where he is met by Galgacus at the head of the united forces of the enemy.*

Initio aetatis Agricola domestico vulnere ictus, anno
ante natum filium amisit. quem casum neque ut plerique for-
tium virorum ambitiose, neque per lamenta rursus ac mae-
rorem muliebriter tulit: et in luctu bellum inter remedia erat.
igitur praemissa classe, quae pluribus locis praedata magnum
et incertum terrorem faceret, expedito exercitu, cui ex Bri-
tannis fortissimos et longa pace exploratos addiderat, ad
montem Graupium pervenit, quem iam hostis insederat. nam
Britanni nihil fracti pugnae prioris eventu, et ultionem aut

servitium expectantes, tandemque docti commune periculum concordia propulsandum, legationibus et foederibus omnium civitatum vires exciverant. iamque super triginta milia armatorum aspiciebantur, et adhuc adfluebat omnis iuventus et quibus cruda ac viridis senectus, clari bello et sua quisque decora gestantes, cum inter plures duces virtute et genere praestans nomine Galgacus apud contractam multitudinem proelium poscentem in hunc modum locutus fertur:

Speech of Galgacus to his army.

30

10 'Quotiens causas belli et necessitatem nostram intueor, magnus mihi animus est hodiernum diem consensumque vestrum initium libertatis toti Britanniae fore; nam et universi servitutis expertes et nullae ultra terrae ac ne mare quidem securum imminente nobis classe Romana. ita proe-
15 lium atque arma, quae, fortibus honesta, eadem etiam ignavis tutissima sunt: priores pugnae, quibus adversus Romanos varia fortuna certatum est, spem ac subsidium in nostris manibus habebant, quia nobilissimi totius Britanniae eoque in ipsis penetralibus siti nec servientium litora aspicientes,
20 oculos quoque a contactu dominationis inviolatos habebamus. nos terrarum ac libertatis extremos recessus ipse ac sinus famae in hunc diem defendit; atque omne ignotum pro magifico est: sed nunc terminus Britanniae patet, nulla iam ultra gens, nihil nisi fluctus et saxa, et infestiores Romani,
25 quorum superbiam frustra per obsequium ac modestiam effugeris. raptores orbis, postquam cuncta vastantibus defuere terrae, iam et mare scrutantur: si locuples hostis est, avari, si pauper, ambitiosi, quos non Oriens, non Occidens satiaverit: soli omnium opes atque inopiam pari adfectu
30 concupiscunt. auferre trucidare rapere falsis nominibus imperium, atque ubi solitudinem faciunt, pacem appellant.'

X 31 'Liberos cuique ac propinquos suos natura carissimos esse voluit: hi per dilectus alibi servituri auferuntur: coniuges sororesque etiam si hostilem libidinem effugiant, nomine amicorum atque hospitem polluuntur. bona fortunaque in tributum, ager atque annus in frumentum, corpora ipsa 5 ac manus silvis ac paludibus emuniendis inter verbera ac contumelias conteruntur. nata servituti mancipia semel veneunt, atque ultro a dominis aluntur: Britannia servitutem suam quotidie emit, quotidie pascit. ac sicut in familia recentissimus quisque servorum etiam conservis ludibrio est, sic in hoc 10 orbis terrarum vetere famulatu novi nos et viles in excidium petimur; neque enim arva nobis aut metalla aut portus sunt, quibus exercendis reservemur. virtus porro ac ferocia subiectorum ingrata imperantibus; et longinquitas ac secretum ipsum quo tutius, eo suspectius. ita sublata spe veniae tan- 15 dem sumite animum, tam quibus salus quam quibus gloria carissima est. Brigantes femina duce exurere coloniam, expugnare castra, ac nisi felicitas in socordiam vertisset, exuere iugum potuere: nos integri et indomiti et in libertatem, non in patientiam bellaturi, primo statim congressu 20 ostendamus, quos sibi Caledonia viros seposuerit.'

X 32 'An eandem Romanis in bello virtutem quam in pace lasciviam adesse creditis? nostris illi dissensionibus ac discordiis clari vitia hostium in gloriam exercitus sui vertunt; quem contractum ex diversissimis gentibus ut secundae res 25 tenent, ita adversae dissolvent; nisi si Gallos et Germanos et (pudet dictu) Britannorum plerosque, licet dominationi alienae sanguinem commodent, diutius tamen hostes quam servos, fide et adfectu teneri putatis. metus ac terror sunt infirma vincla caritatis; quae ubi removeris, qui timere desie- 30 rint, odisse incipient. omnia victoriae incitamenta pro nobis sunt: nullae Romanos coniuges accendunt, nulli parentes fugam exprobraturi sunt; aut nulla plerisque patria aut alia est.

paucos numero, trepidos ignorantia, caelum ipsum ac mare et silvas, ignota omnia circumspectantes, clausos quodam modo ac vinctos di nobis tradiderunt. ne terreat vanus aspectus et auri fulgor atque argenti, quod neque tegit
 5 neque vulnerat. in ipsa hostium acie inuenimus nostras manus. adgnoscent Britanni suam causam, recordabuntur Galli priorem libertatem: deserent illos ceteri Germani, tam quam nuper Usipi reliquerunt. nec quicquam ultra formidinis: vacua castella, senum coloniae, inter male parentes et iniuste
 10 imperantes aegra municipia et discordantia. hic dux, hic exercitus: ibi tributa et metalla et ceterae seruientium poenae, quas in aeternum perferre aut statim ulcisci in hoc campo est. proinde ituri in aciem et maiores vestros et posteros cogitate.'

15

Speech of Agricola to his army.

33

X

Exceperere orationem alacres, ut barbaris moris, cantu fremituque et clamoribus dissonis. iamque agmina et armorum fulgores audentissimi cuiusque procursu: simul instruebatur acies, cum Agricola quamquam laetum et vix muni-
 20 mentis coercitum militem accendendum adhuc ratus, ita disseruit: 'septimus annus est, commilitones, ex quo virtute vestra, auspiciis imperii Romani, fide atque opera nostra Britanniam vicistis. tot expeditionibus, tot proeliis, seu fortitudine adversus hostis seu patientia ac labore paene adversus ipsam
 25 rerum naturam opus fuit, neque me militum neque vos ducis paenituit. ergo egressi, ego veterum legatorum, vos priorum exercituum terminos, finem Britanniae non fama nec rumore, sed castris et armis tenemus: inventa Britannia et subacta. equidem saepe in agmine, cum vos paludes mon-
 30 tesve et flumina fatigarent, fortissimi cuiusque voces audiebam: 'quando dabitur hostis, quando acies?' veniunt, e latebris suis extrusi, et vota virtusque in aperto, omniaque

prona victoribus atque eadem victis adversa. nam ut superasse tantum itineris, silvas evasisse, transisse aestuaria pulchrum ac decorum in frontem, ita fugientibus periculosissima quae hodie prosperrima sunt; neque enim nobis aut locorum eadem notitia aut commeatum eadem abundantia, 5 sed manus et arma et in his omnia. quod ad me attinet, iam pridem mihi decretum est neque exercitus neque ducis terga tuta esse. proinde et honesta mors turpi vita potior, et incolumitas ac decus eodem loco sita sunt; nec inglorium fuerit in ipso terrarum ac naturae fine cecidisse.' 10

34 'Si novae gentes atque ignota acies constitisset, aliorum exercituum exemplis vos hortarer: nunc vestra decora recense, vestros oculos interrogate. hi sunt, quos proximo anno unam legionem furto noctis adgressos clamore debellastis; hi Britannorum fugacissimi ideoque ceterorum tam diu 15 superstites. quo modo silvas saltusque penetrantibus fortissimum quodque animal contra ruere, pavida et inertia ipso agminis sono pellebantur, sic acerrimi Britannorum iam pridem ceciderunt, reliquus est numerus ignavorum et metuentium. quos quod tandem invenistis, non restiterunt, sed 20 deprehensi sunt; novissimae res extremo metu corpora defixere in his vestigiis, in quibus pulchram et spectabilem victoriam ederetis. transigite cum expeditionibus, imponite quinquaginta annis magnum diem, adprobate rei publicae numquam exercitui imputari potuisse aut moras belli aut 25 causas rebellandi.'

35 *The battle. The Britons fight with desperate courage, but in the end are completely defeated.*

Et adloquente adhuc Agricola militum ardor eminebat, et finem orationis ingens alacritas consecuta est, statimque 30 ad arma discursum. instinctos ruentesque ita disposuit, ut peditum auxilia, quae octo milium erant, mediam aciem

firmarent, equitum tria milia cornibus adfunderentur. legiones pro vallo stetere, ingens victoriae decus citra Romanum sanguinem bellanti, et auxilium, si pellerentur. Britannorum acies in speciem simul ac terrorem editioribus locis constiterat ita, ut primum agmen in aequo, ceteri per adclive iugum conexi velut insurgerent; media campi covinnarius eques strepitu ac discursu complebat. tum Agricola superante hostium multitudine veritus, ne in frontem simul et latera suorum pugnaretur, diductis ordinibus, quamquam porrectior acies futura erat et arcessendas plerique legiones admonebant, promptior in spem et firmus adversis, dimisso equo pedes ante vexilla constitit.

Ac primo congressu eminus certabatur; simulque constantia, simul arte Britanni ingentibus gladiis et brevibus caetris missilia nostrorum vitare vel excutere, atque ipsi magnam vim telorum superfundere, donec Agricola Batavorum cohortes ac Tungrorum duas cohortatus est, ut rem ad mucrones ac manus adducerent; quod et ipsis vetustate militiae exercitatum et hostibus inhabile, parva scuta et enormes gladios gerentibus; nam Britannorum gladii sine mucrone complexum armorum et in arto pugnam non tolerabant. igitur ut Batavi miscere ictus, ferire umbonibus, ora fodere, et stratis qui in aequo adstiterant, erigere in colles aciem coepere, ceterae cohortes aemulatione et impetu conisae proximos quosque caedere: ac plerique semineces aut integri festinatione victoriae relinquebantur. interim equitum turmae, ut fugere covinnarii, peditum se proelio miscuere. et quamquam recentem terrorem intulerant, densis tamen hostium agminibus et inaequalibus locis haerebant; minimeque aequa nostris iam pugnae facies erat, cum aegre clivo instantes simul equorum corporibus impellerentur; ac saepe vagi currus, exterriti sine rectoribus equi, ut quemque formido tulerat, transversos aut obvios incursabant.

37 Et Britanni, qui adhuc pugnae expertes summa collium insederant et paucitatem nostrorum vacui spernebant, de-
 gredi paulatim et circumire terga vincentium coeperant, ni
 id ipsum veritus Agricola quattuor equitum alas, ad subita
 belli retentas, venientibus opposuisset, quantoque ferocius 5
 adcurrerant, tanto acrius pulsos in fugam disiecisset. ita
 consilium Britannorum in ipsos versum, transvectaeque prae-
 cepto ducis a fronte pugnantium alae aversam hostium aciem
 invasere. tum vero patentibus locis grande et atrox specta-
 culum: sequi, vulnerare, capere, atque eosdem oblati aliis 10
 trucidare. iam hostium, prout cuique ingenium erat, cater-
 vae armatorum paucioribus terga praestare, quidam inermes
 ultro ruere ac se morti offerre. passim arma et corpora et
 laceri artus et cruenta humus; et aliquando etiam victis ira
 virtusque. postquam silvis appropinquaverunt, idem pri- 15
 mos sequentium incautos collecti et locorum gnari circum-
 veniebant. quod ni frequens ubique Agricola validas et
 expeditas cohortes indaginis modo, et sicubi artiora erant,
 partem equitum dimissis equis, simul rariores silvas equi-
 tem perscrutari iussisset, acceptum aliquod vulnus per ni- 20
 miam fiduciam foret. ceterum ubi compositos firmis ordi-
 nibus sequi rursus videre, in fugam versi, non agminibus, ut
 prius, nec alius alium respectantes, rari et vitabundi in
 vicem longinqua atque avia petiere. finis sequendi nox et
 satietas fuit. caesa hostium ad decem milia: nostrorum 25
 trecenti sexaginta cecidere, in quis Aulus Atticus prae-
 fectus cohortis, iuvenili ardore et ferocia equi hostibus
 inlatus.

38 *Deplorable condition of the enemy after the battle. Agricola orders the fleet to circumnavigate Britain, and himself returns slowly south- 30
 wards to winter quarters.*

Et nox quidem gaudio praedaeque laeta victoribus:
 Britanni palantes mixtoque virorum mulierumque ploratu

trahere vulneratos, vocare integros, deserere domos ac per iram ultro incendere, eligere latebras et statim relinquere; miscere in vicem consilia [aliqua], dein separare; aliquando frangi aspectu pignorum suorum, saepius concitari. satis-
 5 que constabat saevisse quosdam in coniuges ac liberos, tamquam misererentur. proximus dies faciem victoriae latius aperuit: vastum ubique silentium, deserti colles, fumantia procul tecta, nemo exploratoribus obvi-
 10 conglobari hostes compertum (et exacta iam aestate spargi bellum nequibat), in fines Borestorum exercitum deducit. ibi acceptis obsidibus, praefecto classis circumvehi Britanniam praecipit. datae ad id vires, et praecesserat terror. ipse peditem atque equites lento itinere, quo novarum gentium
 15 animi ipsa transitus mora terrerentur, in hibernis locavit. et simul classis secunda tempestate ac fama Trucculensem portum tenuit, unde proximo Britanniae latere lecto omni, redierat.

A.D. 84—93. *The news of Agricola's success rouses jealous fears in the* 39
 20 *mind of Domitian, which however he conceals, ordering all honours to be paid to Agricola, and talking of appointing him to the province of Syria. Agricola returns to Rome. His unassuming behaviour there.*

Hunc rerum cursum, quamquam nulla verborum iactan-
 25 tia epistulis Agricolae auctum, ut Domitiano moris erat, fronte laetus, pectore anxius excepit. inerat conscientia derisui fuisse nuper falsum e Germania triumphum, emptis per commercia, quorum habitus et crines in captivorum speciem formarentur: at nunc veram magnamque victoriam tot mili-
 30 bus hostium caesis ingenti fama celebrari. id sibi maxime formidolosum, privati hominis nomen supra principis attolli: frustra studia fori et civilium artium decus in silentium acta, si militarem gloriam alius occuparet; cetera utcumque facilius dissimulari, ducis boni imperatoriam virtutem esse.

talibus curis exercitus, quodque saevae cogitationis indicium erat, secreto suo satiatus, optimum in praesentia statuit reponere odium, donec impetus famae et favor exercitus languesceret: nam etiam tum Agricola Britanniam obtinebat.

- 40 Igitur triumphalia ornamenta et inlustris statuae honorem et quidquid pro triumpho datur, multo verborum honore cumulata, decerni in senatu iubet addique insuper opinionem, Suriam provinciam Agricolae destinari, vacuam tum morte Atilii Rufi consularis et maioribus reservatam. credidere 10 plerique libertum ex secretioribus ministeriis missum ad Agricolam codicillos, quibus ei Suria dabatur, tulisse, cum praecepto ut, si in Britannia foret, traderentur; eumque libertum in ipso freto Oceani obvium Agricolae, ne appellato quidem eo ad Domitianum remeasse, sive verum istud, 15 sive ex ingenio principis fictum ac compositum est. tradiderat interim Agricola successori suo provinciam quietam tutamque. ac ne notabilis celebritate et frequentia occurrentium introitus esset, vitato amicorum officio noctu in urbem, noctu in Palatium, ita ut praeceptum erat, venit; exceptusque 20 brevi osculo et nullo sermone turbae servientium inmixtus est. ceterum uti militare nomen, grave inter otiosos, aliis virtutibus temperaret, tranquillitatem atque otium penitus hausit, cultu modicus, sermone facilis, uno aut altero amicorum comitatus, adeo uti plerique, quibus magnos viros per 25 ambitionem aestimare mos est, viso aspectoque Agricola quaererent famam, pauci interpretarentur.

- 41 *Agricola's reputation continually increasing by contrast with the incompetence of other generals, Domitian's dislike and jealousy of him increase proportionately.* 30

Crebro per eos dies apud Domitianum absens accusatus, absens absolutus est. causa periculi non crimen ullum aut querela laesi cuiusquam, sed infensus virtutibus princeps et

gloria viri ac pessimum inimicorum genus, laudantes. et ea
insecuta sunt rei publicae tempora, quae sileri Agricola
non sinerent: tot exercitus in Moesia Daciaque et Germania
et Pannonia temeritate aut per ignaviam ducum amissi, tot
5 militares viri cum tot cohortibus expugnati et capti; nec iam
de limite imperii et ripa, sed de hibernis legionum et pos-
sessione dubitatum. ita cum damna damnis continuarentur
atque omnis annus funeribus et cladibus insigniretur, posce-
batur ore vulgi dux Agricola, comparantibus cunctis vigorem
10 et constantiam et expertum bellis animum cum inertia et
formidine eorum, *quibus exercitus committi solerent.* quibus
sermonibus satis constat Domitiani quoque aures verberatas,
dum optimus quisque libertorum amore et fide, pessimi
malignitate et livore pronum deterioribus principem exsti-
15 mulabant. sic Agricola simul suis virtutibus, simul vitiis
aliorum in ipsam gloriam praeceps agebatur.

He declines a proconsulship.

42 +

Aderat iam annus, quo proconsulatum Africae et Asiae
sortiretur, et occiso Civica nuper nec Agricolae consilium
20 deerat nec Domitiano exemplum. accessere quidam cogita-
tionum principis periti, qui iturusne esset in provinciam
ultra Agricola interrogarent. ac primo occultius quietem
et otium laudare, mox operam suam in adprobanda excusa-
tione offerre, postremo non iam obscuri suadentes simul
25 terrentesque pertraxere ad Domitianum. qui paratus simu-
latione, in adrogantiam compositus, et audiit preces excu-
santis et, cum adnuisset, agi sibi gratias passus est, nec eru-
buit beneficii invidia. *salarium tamen proconsulare solitum
offerri et quibusdam a se ipso concessum Agricolae non de-
30 dit, sive offensus non petitus, sive ex conscientia, ne quod
vetuerat videretur emisse. proprium humani ingenii est odisse
quem laeseris: Domitiani vero natura praeceps in iram, et

quo obscurior, eo inrevocabilior, moderatione tamen prudentiaque Agricolae leniebatur, quia non contumacia neque inani iactatione libertatis famam fatumque provocabat. sciant, quibus moris est inlicita mirari, posse etiam sub malis principibus magnos viros esse, obsequiumque ac modestiam, si industria ac vigor adsint, eo laudis escendere, quo plerique per abrupta, sed in nullum rei publicae usum, ambitiosa morte inclaruerunt. 7

43 *His death. Suspicions of poison. Behaviour of Domitian.*

Finis vitae eius nobis luctuosus, amicis tristis, extraneis etiam ignotisque non sine cura fuit. vulgus quoque et hic aliud agens populus et ventitavere ad domum et per fora et circulos locuti sunt; nec quisquam audita morte Agricolae aut laetatus est aut statim oblitus. augebat miserationem constans rumor veneno interceptum: nobis nihil comperti, adfirmare ut ausim. ceterum per omnem valetudinem eius crebrius quam ex more principatus, per nuntios visentis, et libertorum primi et medicorum intimi venere, sive cura illud sive inquisitio erat. supremo quidem die momenta ipsa deficientis per dispositos cursores nuntiata constabat, nullo credente sic adcelerari quae tristis audiret. speciem tamen doloris habitu vultuque prae se tulit, securus iam odii et qui facilius dissimularet gaudium quam metum. satis constabat lecto testamento Agricolae, quo coheredem optimae uxori et piissimae filiae Domitianum scripsit, laetatum eum velut honore iudicioque. tam caeca et corrupta mens assiduus adulationibus erat, ut nesciret a bono patre non scribi heredem nisi malum principem. 15 20

44 *Reflections on Agricola's life and character. What he was spared by dying when he did. Thoughts and wishes suggested by the death of so great and good a man.*

Natus erat Agricola Gaio Caesare tertium consule idibus Iuniis: excessit sexto et quinquagesimo anno, decumo

kalendas Septembris Collega Priscoque consulibus. quod si habitum quoque eius posterì noscere velint, decentior quam sublimior fuit; nihil metus in vultu: gratia oris supererat. bonum virum facile crederes, magnum libenter. et ipse quidem, 5 quamquam medio in spatio integrae aetatis ereptus, quantum ad gloriam, longissimum aevum peregit. quippe et vera bona, quae in virtutibus sita sunt, impleverat, et consulari ac triumphalibus ornamentis praedito quid aliud adstruere fortuna poterat? opibus nimis non gaudebat, speciosae con- 10 tigerant. filia atque uxore superstitibus potest videri etiam beatus incolumi dignitate, florente fama, salvis adfinitatibus et amicitiiis futura effugisse. nam sicut ei *non licuit* durare in hanc beatissimi saeculi lucem ac principem Traianum videre, quod augurio votisque apud nostras auras ominabatur, ita 15 festinatae mortis grande solacium tulit evasisse postremum illud tempus, quo Domitianus non iam per intervalla ac spiramenta temporum, sed continuo et velut uno ictu rem publicam exhaustit.

Non vidit Agricola obsessam curiam et clausum armis 45x
20 senatum et eadem strage tot consularium caedes, tot nobilissimarum feminarum exilia et fugas. una adhuc victoria Carus Metius censebatur, et intra Albanam arcem sententia Messalini strepebat, et Massa Baebius [iam] tum reus erat: mox nostrae duxere Helvidium in carcerem manus; nos Mau- 25 rici Rusticique visus, nos innocenti sanguine Senecio perfudit. Nero tamen subtraxit oculos suos iussitque scelera, non spectavit: praecipua sub Domitiano miseriarum pars erat videre et aspici, cum suspiria nostra subscriberentur, cum denotandis tot hominum palloribus sufficeret saevus ille 30 vultus et rubor, quo se contra pudorem muniebat.

Tu vero felix, Agricola, non vitae tantum claritate, sed etiam opportunitate mortis. ut perhibent qui interfuerunt novissimis sermonibus tuis, constans et libens fatum excepisti,

tamquam pro virili portione innocentiam principi donares. sed mihi filiaeque eius praeter acerbitatem parentis erepti auget maestitiam, quod adsidere valetudini, fovere deficientem, satiari vultu complexuque non contigit. excepissemus certe mandata vocesque, quas penitus animo figeremus. 5
ster hic dolor, nostrum vulnus, nobis tam longae absentiae condicione ante quadriennium amissus est. omnia sine dubio, optime parentum, adsidente amantissima uxore superfuere honori tuo: paucioribus tamen lacrimis comploratus es, et novissima in luce desideravere aliquid oculi tui. 10

46 Si quis piorum manibus locus, si, ut sapientibus placet, non cum corpore extinguuntur magnae animae, placide quiescas, nosque domum tuam ab infirmo desiderio et muliebribus lamentis ad contemplationem virtutum tuarum voces, quas neque lugeri neque plangi fas est. admiratione te 15
potius et immortalibus laudibus et, si natura suppeditet, similitudine colamus: is verus honos, ea coniunctissimi cuiusque pietas. id filiae quoque uxori praeceperim, sic patris, sic mariti memoriam venerari, ut omnia facta dictaque eius secum revolvant, formamque ac figuram animi magis quam 20
corporis complectantur, non quia intercedendum putem imaginibus quae marmore aut aere finguntur, sed, ut vultus hominum, ita simulacra vultus imbecilla ac mortalia sunt, forma mentis aeterna, quam tenere et exprimere non per alienam materiam et artem, sed tuis ipse moribus possis. quidquid 25
ex Agricola amavimus, quidquid mirati sumus, manet mansurumque est in animis hominum, in aeternitate temporum, in fama rerum; nam multos veterum velut inglorios et ignobilis oblivio obruet: Agricola posteritati narratus et traditus superstes erit. 30

CORNELII TACITI DE GERMANIA

LIBER.

Of the boundaries of Germany.

1

Germania omnis a Gallis Raetisque et Pannoniis Rheno
et Danuvio fluminibus, a Sarmatis Dacisque mutuo metu
aut montibus separatur: cetera Oceanus ambit, latos sinus
5 et insularum immensa spatia complectens, nuper cognitis
quibusdam gentibus ac regibus, quos bellum aperuit.
Rhenus, Raeticarum Alpium inaccessio ac praecipiti vertice
ortus, modico flexu in occidentem versus septentrionali
Oceano miscetur. Danuvius molli et clementer edito montis
10 Abnobaie iugo effusus pluris populos adit, donec in Ponti-
cum mare sex meatibus erumpat: septimum os paludibus
hauritur.

Of the origin of the inhabitants of Germany generally. Three reasons for 2
believing them to be autochthonous, (1) the position and forbidding
15 *character of their land, (2) their native traditions, which trace their*
origin to an earth-born god—Digression on the origin of the name
of the people, and on a tradition that they had been visited by
Hercules (in connexion with whom is mentioned their mode of
singing their war-song) and by Ulysses—(3) the marked type of form
20 *and features common to the whole people.*

Ipsos Germanos indigenas crediderim minimeque alia-
rum gentium adventibus et hospitibus mixtos, quia nec terra

olim, sed classibus advehebantur qui mutare sedes quae-
rebant, et inmensus ultra utque sic dixerim adversus Ocea-
nus raris ab orbe nostro navibus aditur. quis porro, praeter
periculum horridi et ignoti maris, Asia aut Africa aut Italia
relicta Germaniam peteret, informem terris, asperam caelo, 5
tristem cultu aspectuque, nisi cui patria sit?

Celebrant carminibus antiquis, quod unum apud illos
memoriae et annalium genus est, Tuistonem deum terra
editum et filium Mannum originem gentis conditoresque.
Manno tris filios adsignant, e quorum nominibus proximi 10
Oceano Ingaevones, medii Herminones, ceteri Istaevones
vocentur. quidam, ut in licentia vetustatis, pluris deo ortos
plurisque gentis appellationes, Marsos Gambrivos Suebos
Vandilios adfirmant, eaque vera et antiqua nomina. ceterum
Germaniae vocabulum recens et nuper additum, quoniam 15
qui primi Rhenum transgressi Gallos expulerint ac nunc
Tungri, tunc Germani vocati sint: ita nationis nomen, non
gentis evaluisse paulatim, ut omnes primum a victore ob
metum, mox etiam a se ipsis invento nomine Germani
vocarentur.

20

- 3 Fuisse apud eos et Herculem memorant, primumque
omnium virorum fortium ituri in proelia canunt. sunt illis
haec quoque carmina, quorum relatu, quem barditum vo-
cant, accendunt animos futuraeque pugnae fortunam ipso
cantu augurantur; terrent enim trepidantve, prout sonuit 25
acies, nec tam vocis ille quam virtutis concentus videtur.
adfectatur praecipue asperitas soni et fractum murmur, ob-
iectis ad os scutis, quo plenior et gravior vox percussu in-
tumescat. ceterum et Ulixen quidam opinantur longo illo
et fabuloso errore in hunc Oceanum delatum adisse Germa- 30
niae terras, Asciburgiumque, quod in ripa Rheni situm ho-
dieque incolitur, ab illo constitutum nominatumque....; aram
quin etiam Ulixi consecratam, adiecto Laërtæ patris nomine,

eodem loco olim repertam, monumentaque et tumulos quosdam Graecis litteris inscriptos in confinio Germaniae Raetiaeque adhuc extare. quae neque confirmare argumentis neque refellere in animo est: ex ingenio suo quisque demat
5 vel addat fidem.

Ipse eorum opinioni accedo, qui Germaniae populos 4 nullis [aliis] aliarum nationum conubiis infectos propriam et sinceram et tantum sui similem gentem extitisse arbitrantur. unde habitus quoque corporum, quamquam in tanto
10 hominum numero, idem omnibus: truces et caerulei oculi, ✓ rutilae comae, magna corpora et tantum ad impetum valida: laboris atque operum non eadem patientia, minimeque sitim aestumque tolerare, frigora atque inedia caelo solove ad-
sueverunt.

15

Of the nature and products of the land.

5

Terra etsi aliquanto specie differt, in universum tamen aut silvis horrida aut paludibus foeda, umidior qua Gallias, ventosior qua Noricum ac Pannoniam aspicit; satis ferax, frugiferarum arborum inpatiens, pecorum fecunda, sed ple-
20 rumque improcera. ne armentis quidem suus honor aut gloria frontis: numero gaudent, eaeque solae et gratissimae ✓ opes sunt. argentum et aurum propitiine an irati di negaverint dubito. nec tamen adfirmaverim nullam Germaniae venam argentum aurumve gignere: quis enim scrutatus est?
25 possessione et usu haud perinde adficiuntur. est videre apud illos argentea vasa, legatis et principibus eorum muneris data, non in alia vilitate quam quae humo finguntur; quamquam proximi ob usum commerciorum aurum et argen-
30 tum in pretio habent formasque quasdam nostrae pecuniae adgnoscent atque eligunt: interiores simplicius et antiquius permutatione mercium utuntur. pecuniam probant veterem et diu notam, serratos bigatosque. argentum quoque magis

quam aurum sequuntur, nulla adfectione animi, sed quia numerus argenteorum facilius usui est promiscua ac vilia mercantibus.

- 6 *Of their warfare; their arms, their military organisation, and the influence exercised by their women over their conduct and counsels in war.* 5

Ne ferrum quidem superest, sicut ex genere telorum colligitur. rari gladiis aut maioribus lanceis utuntur: hastas vel ipsorum vocabulo frameas gerunt angusto et brevi ferro, sed ita acri et ad usum habili, ut eodem telo, prout ratio 10 poscit, vel comminus vel eminus pugnent. et eques quidem scuto frameaque contentus est, pedites et missilia spargunt, pluraque singuli, atque in immensum vibrant, nudi aut sagulo leves. nulla cultus iactatio; scuta tantum lectissimis coloribus distingunt. paucis loricae, vix uni alterive cassis 15 aut galea. equi non forma, non velocitate conspicui. sed nec variare gyros in morem nostrum docentur: in rectum aut uno flexu dextros agunt, ita coniuncto orbe, ut nemo posterior sit. in universum aestimanti plus penes peditem roboris; eoque mixti proeliantur, apta et congruente ad eque- 20 streum pugnam velocitate peditum, quos ex omni iuventute delectos ante aciem locant. definitur et numerus: centeni ex singulis pagis sunt, idque ipsum inter suos vocantur, et quod primo numerus fuit, iam nomen et honor est. acies per cuneos componitur. cedere loco, dummodo rursus instes, con- 25 siliis quam formidinis arbitrantur. corpora suorum etiam in dubiis proeliis referunt. scutum reliquisse praecipuum flagitium, nec aut sacris adesse aut concilium inire ignominioso fas; multique superstites bellorum infamiam laqueo finierunt.

- 7 Reges ex nobilitate, duces ex virtute sumunt. nec regi- 30 bus infinita aut libera potestas, et duces exemplo potius quam imperio, si prompti, si conspicui, si ante aciem agant,

admiratione praesunt. ceterum neque animadvertere neque vincere, ne verberare quidem nisi sacerdotibus permissum, non quasi in poenam nec ducis iussu, sed velut deo imperante, quem adesse bellantibus credunt. effigiesque et signa
 5 quaedam detracta lucis in proelium ferunt; quodque praecipuum fortitudinis incitamentum est, non casus nec fortuita conglobatio turmam aut cuneum facit, sed familiae et propinquitates; et in proximo pignora, unde feminarum ululatus audiri, unde vagitus infantium. hi cuique sanctis-
 10 simi testes, hi maximi laudatores: ad matres, ad coniuges vulnera ferunt; nec illae numerare aut exigere plagas pavent, cibosque et hortamina pugnantibus gestant.

Memoriae proditur quasdam acies inclinatas iam et
 labantes a feminis restitutas constantia precum et obiectu
 15 pectorum et monstrata comminus captivitate, quam longe impatientius feminarum suarum nomine timent, adeo ut efficacius obligentur animi civitatum, quibus inter obsides puellae quoque nobiles imperantur. inesse quin etiam sanctum aliquid et providum putant, nec aut consilia earum asper-
 20 nantur aut responsa neglegunt. vidimus sub divo Vespasiano Velaedam diu apud plerosque numinis loco habitam; sed et olim Albrunam et compluris alias venerati sunt, non adulatione nec tamquam facerent deas.

Of their religion, and particularly, of their mode of Auspice-taking. 9

25 Deorum maxime Mercurium colunt, cui certis diebus humanis quoque hostiis litare fas habent. Herculem ac Martem concessis animalibus placant. pars Sueborum et Isidi sacrificat: unde causa et origo peregrino sacro, parum comperi, nisi quod signum ipsum in modum liburnae figuratum
 30 docet advectam religionem. ceterum nec cohibere parietibus deos neque in ullam humani oris speciem adsimulare ex magnitudine caelestium arbitrantur: lucos ac nemora conse-

crant deorumque nominibus appellant secretum illud, quod sola reverentia vident.

- 10 Auspicia sortesque ut qui maxime observant: sortium consuetudo simplex. virgam frugiferae arbori decisam in surculos amputant eosque notis quibusdam discretos super 5 candidam vestem temere ac fortuito spargunt. mox, si publice consultetur, sacerdos civitatis, sin privatim, ipse pater familiae, precatus deos caelumque suspiciens ter singulos tollit, sublato secundum impressam ante notam interpretatur. si prohibuerunt, nulla de eadem re in eundem 10 diem consultatio; sin permissum, auspicio adhuc fides exigitur. et illud quidem etiam hic notum, avium voces volatusque interrogare: proprium gentis equorum quoque praesagia ac monitus experiri. publice aluntur isdem nemoribus ac lucis, candidi et nullo mortali opere contacti; 15 quos pressos sacro curru sacerdos ac rex vel princeps civitatis comitantur hinnitusque ac fremitus observant. nec ulli auspicio maior fides, non solum apud plebem, sed apud proceres; sacerdotes enim ministros deorum, illos conscios putant. est et alia observatio auspicio, qua gravium 20 bellorum eventus explorant. eius gentis, cum qua bellum est, captivum quoquo modo interceptum cum electo popularium suorum, patriis quemque armis, committunt: victoria huius vel illius pro praeiudicio accipitur.

- 11 *Of their state administration, and their deliberative assemblies.* 25

De minoribus rebus principes consultant, de maioribus omnes, ita tamen, ut ea quoque, quorum penes plebem arbitrium est, apud principes praetractentur. coeunt, nisi quid fortuitum et subitum incidit, certis diebus, cum aut incohatur luna aut impletur; nam agendis rebus hoc auspicatissimum initium credunt. nec dierum numerum, ut nos, sed noctium computant. sic constituunt, sic con-

dicunt : nox ducere diem videtur. illud ex libertate vitium, quod non simul nec ut iussi conveniunt, sed et alter et tertius dies cunctatione coëuntium absumitur. ut turba placuit, considunt armati. silentium per sacerdotes, quibus
 5 tum et coercendi ius est, imperatur. mox rex vel princeps, prout aetas cuique, prout nobilitas, prout decus bellorum, prout facundia est, audiuntur, auctoritate suadendi magis quam iubendi potestate. si displicuit sententia, fremitu aspernantur; sin placuit, frameas concutiunt: honoratis-
 10 simum adsensus genus est armis laudare.

Of their judicial system.

12

Licet apud concilium accusare quoque et discrimen capitis intendere. distinctio poenarum ex delicto. proditores et transfugas arboribus suspendunt, ignavos et im-
 15 belles et corpore infames caeno ac palude, iniecta insuper crate, mergunt. diversitas supplicii illuc respicit, tamquam scelera ostendi oporteat, dum puniuntur, flagitia abscondi. sed et levioribus delictis pro modo poena: equorum pecorumque numero convicti multantur. pars multae regi vel
 20 civitati, pars ipsi, qui vindicatur, vel propinquis eius exsolvitur. eliguntur in isdem conciliis et principes, qui iura per pagos vicosque reddunt; centeni singulis ex plebe comites consilium simul et auctoritas adsunt.

*Of ranks and dignities among them; of the chieftains and their
 25 companions; of their passion for war.* 13

Nihil autem neque publicae neque privatae rei nisi armati agunt. sed arma sumere non ante cuiquam moris, quam civitas suffecturum probaverit. tum in ipso concilio vel principum aliquis vel pater vel propinqui scuto framea-
 30 que iuvenem ornant: haec apud illos toga, hic primus iuventae honos; ante hoc domus pars videntur, mox rei

publicae. insignis nobilitas aut magna patrum merita principis dignationem etiam adulescentulis adsignant : ceteris robustioribus ac iam pridem probatis adgregantur, nec rubor inter comites adspici. gradus quin etiam ipse comitatus habet, iudicio eius quem sectantur ; magnaue et comitum 5 aemulatio, quibus primus apud principem suum locus, et principum, cui plurimi et acerrimi comites. haec dignitas, hae vires, magno semper electorum iuvenum globo circumdari, in pace decus, in bello praesidium. nec solum in sua gente cuique, sed apud finitimas quoque civitates id 10 nomen, ea gloria est, si numero ac virtute comitatus emineat ; expetuntur enim legationibus et muneribus ornantur et ipsa plerumque fama bella profligant.

- 14 Cum ventum in aciem, turpe principi virtute vinci, turpe comitatu virtutem principis non adaequare. iam vero 15 infame in omnem vitam ac probrosum superstitem principi suo ex acie recessisse : illum defendere, tueri, sua quoque fortia facta gloriae eius adsignare praecipuum sacramentum est : principes pro victoria pugnant, comites pro principe. si civitas, in qua orti sunt, longa pace et otio torpeat, 20 plerique nobilium adulescentium petunt ultro eas nationes, quae tum bellum aliquod gerunt, quia et ingrata genti quies et facilius inter ancipitia clarescunt magnumque comitatum non nisi vi belloque tueare : exigunt enim a principis sui liberalitate illum bellatorem equum, illam cruentam 25 victricemque frameam ; nam epulae et quamquam incompti, largi tamen apparatus pro stipendio cedunt. materia muniticiae per bella et raptus. nec arare terram aut expectare annum tam facile persuaseris quam vocare hostem et vulnera mereri. pigrum quin immo et iners videtur 30 sudore adquirere quod possis sanguine parare.

Of the idleness of the men in time of peace, and of the fondness of the chieftains for receiving presents. 15

Quotiens bella non ineunt, non multum venatibus, plus per otium transigunt, dediti somno ciboque, fortissimus quisque ac bellicosissimus nihil agens, delegata domus et penatium et agrorum cura feminis senibusque et infirmissimo cuique ex familia: ipsi hebent, mira diversitate naturae, cum idem homines sic ament inertiam et oderint quietem. mos est civitatibus ultro ac viritim conferre principibus vel armentorum vel frugum, quod pro honore acceptum etiam necessitatibus subvenit. gaudent praecipue finitimarum gentium donis, quae non modo a singulis, sed et publice mittuntur, electi equi, magna arma, phalerae torquesque; iam et pecuniam accipere docuimus.

15

Of their dwellings.

16

Nullas Germanorum populis urbes habitari satis notum est, ne pati quidem inter se iunctas sedes. colunt discreti ac diversi, ut fons, ut campus, ut nemus placuit. vicos locant non in nostrum morem conexis et cohaerentibus aedificiis: suam quisque domum spatio circumdat, sive adversus casus ignis remedium sive inscitia aedificandi. ne caementorum quidem apud illos aut tegularum usus: materia ad omnia utuntur informi et citra speciem aut delectationem. quaedam loca diligentius inlinunt terra ita pura ac splendente, ut picturam ac liniamenta colorum imitetur. solent et subterraneos specus aperire eosque multo insuper fimo onerant, suffugium hiemis et receptaculum frugibus, quia rigorem frigorum eius modi loci molliunt, et si quando hostis advenit, aperta populatur, abdita autem et defossa aut ignorantur aut eo ipso fallunt, quod quaerenda sunt.

30

17

Of their clothing.

Tegumen omnibus sagum fibula aut, si desit, spina consertum: cetera intecti totos dies iuxta focum atque ignem agunt. locupletissimi veste distinguuntur, non fluitante, sicut Sarmatae ac Parthi, sed stricta et singulos artus exprimente. gerunt et ferarum pelles, proximi ripae neglegenter, ultiores exquisitius, ut quibus nullus per commercia cultus. eligunt feras et detracta velamina spargunt maculis pellibusque beluarum, quas exterior Oceanus atque ignotum mare gignit. nec alius feminis quam viris habitus, nisi quod feminae saepius lineis amictibus velantur eosque purpura variant, partemque vestitus superioris in manicas non extendunt, nudae brachia ac lacertos; sed et proxima pars pectoris patet.

18

Of marriage and married life amongst them.

15

Quamquam severa illic matrimonia, nec ullam morum partem magis laudaveris. nam prope soli barbarorum singulis uxoribus contenti sunt, exceptis admodum paucis, qui non libidine, sed ob nobilitatem pluribus nuptiis ambiuntur.

Dotem non uxor marito, sed uxori maritus offert. inter sunt parentes et propinqui ac munera probant, munera non ad delicias muliebres quaesita nec quibus nova nupta comatur, sed boves et frenatum equum et scutum cum framea gladioque. in haec munera uxor accipitur, atque in vicem ipsa armorum aliquid viro adfert: hoc maximum vinculum, haec arcana sacra, hos coniugales deos arbitrantur. ne se mulier extra virtutum cogitationes extraque bellorum casus putet, ipsis incipientis matrimonii auspiciis admonetur venire se laborum periculorumque sociam, idem in pace, idem in proelio passuram ausuramque: hoc iuncti boves, hoc paratus equus, hoc data arma denuntiant. sic vivendum, sic pereun-

dum: accipere se quae liberis inviolata ac digna reddat, quae nurus accipiant rursusque ad nepotes referantur.

Ergo saepta pudicitia agunt, nullis spectaculorum inlece- 19
bris, nullis conviviorum irritationibus corruptae. litterarum
5 secreta viri pariter ac feminae ignorant. paucissima in tam
numerosa gente adulteria, quorum poena praesens et maritis
permissa: abscisis crinibus nudatam coram propinquis
expellit domo maritus ac per omnem vicum verbere agit;
publicatae enim pudicitiae nulla venia: non forma, non
10 aetate, non opibus maritum invenerit. nemo enim illic vitia
ridet, nec corrumpere et corrumpi saeculum vocatur. melius
quidem adhuc eae civitates, in quibus tantum virgines nubunt
et cum spe votoque uxoris semel transigitur. sic unum
accipiunt maritum quo modo unum corpus unamque vitam,
15 ne ulla cogitatio ultra, ne longior cupiditas, ne tamquam
maritum, sed tamquam matrimonium ament. numerum
liberorum finire aut quemquam ex adgnatis necare flagitium
habetur, plusque ibi boni mores valent quam alibi bonae leges.

Of the bringing up of children, and of the legal claims attaching to 20
20 *different degrees of relationship.*

In omni domo nudi ac sordidi in hos artus, in haec
corpora, quae miramur, excrescunt. sua quemque mater
uberibus alit, nec ancillis aut nutricibus delegantur. domi-
num ac servum nullis educationis deliciis dignoscas: inter
25 eadem pecora, in eadem humo degunt, donec aetas separet
ingenuos, virtus adgnoscat. sera iuvenum venus, eoque
inexhausta pubertas. nec virgines festinantur; eadem iuventa,
similis proceritas: pares validaeque miscentur, ac robor
parentum liberi referunt. sororum filiis idem apud avuncu-
30 lum qui apud patrem honor. quidam sanctiorem artioremq
hunc nexum sanguinis arbitrantur et in accipiendis obsidibus
magis exigunt, tamquam et animum firmitus et domum latius

teneant. heredes tamen successoresque sui cuique liberi, et nullum testamentum. si liberi non sunt, proximus gradus in possessione fratres, patruī, avunculi. quanto plus propinquorum, quanto maior adfinium numerus, tanto gratiosior senectus; nec ulla orbitatis pretia.

5

21 *Of hereditary friendships and feuds among them, and of their love of hospitality.*

Suscipere tam inimicitias seu patris seu propinqui quam amicitias necesse est; nec inplacabiles durant: luitur enim etiam homicidium certo armentorum ac pecorum numero 10 recipitque satisfactionem universa domus, utiliter in publicum, quia periculosiores sunt inimicitiae iuxta libertatem.

Convictibus et hospitibus non alia gens effusius indulget. quemcumque mortalium arcere tecto nefas habetur; pro fortuna quisque apparatus epulis excipit. cum defecere, qui 15 modo hospes fuerat, monstrator hospitii et comes; proximam domum non invitati adeunt. nec interest: pari humanitate accipiuntur. notum ignotumque quantum ad ius hospitis nemo discernit. abeunti, si quid poposcerit, concedere moris; et poscendi in vicem eadem facilitas. gaudent 20 muneribus, sed nec data imputant nec acceptis obligantur. [victus inter hospites comis.]

22 *Of their domestic habits, their drunkenness and its political use, their food and drink.*

Statim e somno, quem plerumque in diem extrahunt, 25 lavantur, saepius calida, ut apud quos plurimum hiems occupat. lautī cibum capiunt: separatae singulis sedes et sua cuique mensa. tum ad negotia nec minus saepe ad convivia procedunt armati. diem noctemque continuare potando nulli probum. crebrae, ut inter vinolentos, rixae 30 raro conviciis, saepius caede et vulneribus transiguntur. sed

et de reconciliandis invicem inimicis et iungendis adfinitatibus et adsciscendis principibus, de pace denique ac bello plerumque in conviviis consultant, tamquam nullo magis tempore aut ad simplices cogitationes pateat animus aut ad
 5 magnas incalescat. gens non astuta nec callida aperit adhuc secreta pectoris licentia ioci; ergo detecta et nuda omnium mens. postera die retractatur, et salva utriusque temporis ratio est: deliberant, dum fingere nesciunt, constituunt, dum errare non possunt.

10 Potui humor ex hordeo aut frumento, in quamdam 23
 similitudinem vini corruptus: proximi ripae et vinum mercantur. cibi simplices, agrestia poma, recens fera aut lac concretum: sine apparatu, sine blandimentis expellunt famem. adversus sitim non eadem temperantia. si indul-
 15 seris ebrietati suggerendo quantum concupiscunt, haud minus facile vitiis quam armis vincentur.

Of their sports; the sword-dance and dicing.

24

Genus spectaculorum unum atque in omni coetu idem. nudi iuvenes, quibus id ludicrum est, inter gladios se atque
 20 infestas frameas saltu iaciunt. exercitatio artem paravit, ars decorem, non in quaestum tamen aut mercedem: quamvis audacis lasciviae pretium est voluptas spectantium. aleam, quod mirere, sobrii inter seria exercent, tanta lucrandi perdendive temeritate, ut, cum omnia defecerunt, extremo
 25 ac novissimo iactu de libertate ac de corpore contendant. |
 victus voluntariam servitutem adit: quamvis iuvenior, quamvis robustior adligari se ac venire patitur. ea est in re prava pervicacia; ipsi fidem vocant. servos condicionis huius per commercia tradunt, ut se quoque pudore victoriae
 30 exsolvant.

Of slaves and freedmen.

25

Ceteris servis non in nostrum morem, discriptis per familiam ministeriis, utuntur: suam quisque sedem, suos

penates regit. frumenti modum dominus aut pecoris aut vestis ut colono iniungit, et servus hactenus paret: cetera domus officia uxor ac liberi exsequuntur. verberare servum ac vinculis et opere coercere rarum: occidere solent, non disciplina et severitate, sed impetu et ira, ut inimicum, nisi quod impune est. liberti non multum supra servos sunt, raro aliquod momentum in domo, numquam in civitate, exceptis dumtaxat iis gentibus quae regnantur. ibi enim et super ingenuos et super nobiles ascendunt: apud ceteros impares libertini libertatis argumentum sunt. 10

26 *Of the absence of usury among them, and of their agriculture.*

Faenus agitare et in usuras extendere ignotum; ideoque magis servatur quam si vetitum esset. agri pro numero cultorum ab universis [vices] occupantur, quos mox inter se secundum dignationem partiuntur; facilitatem partiendi 15 camporum spatia praestant. arva per annos mutant, et superest ager. nec enim cum ubertate et amplitudine soli labore contendunt, ut pomaria conserant et prata separent et hortos rigent: sola terrae seges imperatur. unde annum quoque ipsum non in totidem digerunt species: hiems et 20 ver et aestas intellectum ac vocabula habent, autumnus perinde nomen ac bona ignorantur.

27 *Of their burial rites.*

Funerum nulla ambitio: id solum observatur, ut corpora clarorum virorum certis lignis crementur. struem rogi nec 25 vestibis nec odoribus cumulant: sua cuique arma, quorundam igni et equus adicitur. sepulcrum caespes erigit: monumentorum arduum et operosum honorem ut gravem defunctis aspernantur. lamenta ac lacrimas cito, dolorem et tristitiam tarde ponunt. feminis lugere honestum est, 30 viris meminisse.

Haec in commune de omnium Germanorum origine ac moribus accepimus: nunc singularum gentium instituta ritusque, quatenus differant, quaeque nationes e Germania in Gallias commigraverint, expediam.

5 *Of the different tribes of Germany; Gallic immigrants, the Boii and 28*
Helvetii; doubtful origin of the Treveri, Nervii, and Osi. Of the
true German peoples on the left bank of the Rhine, the Vangiones,
Triboci, Nemetes and Ubii.

Validiores olim Gallorum res fuisse summus auctorum
 10 divus Iulius tradit; eoque credibile est etiam Gallos in
 Germaniam transgressos: quantulum enim amnis obstabat
 quo minus, ut quaeque gens evaluerat, occuparet permutaretque sedes promiscuas adhuc et nulla regnorum potentia
 15 divisas? igitur inter Hercyniam silvam Rhenumque et
 Moenum amnes Helvetii, ulteriora Boii, Gallica utraque
 gens, tenuere. manet adhuc Boihaemi nomen significatque
 loci veterem memoriam quamvis mutatis cultoribus. sed
 utrum Aravisci in Pannoniam ab Osis [Germanorum natione]
 20 an Osi ab Araviscis in Germaniam commigraverint,
 cum eodem adhuc sermone institutis moribus utantur, incertum est, quia pari olim inopia ac libertate eadem
 utriusque ripae bona malaque erant. Treveri et Nervii
 circa adfectionem Germanicae originis ultro ambitiosi
 sunt, tamquam per hanc gloriam sanguinis a similitudine
 25 et inertia Gallorum separentur. ipsam Rheni ripam haud
 dubie Germanorum populi colunt, Vangiones, Triboci,
 Nemetes. ne Ubii quidem, quamquam Romana colonia
 esse meruerint ac libentius Agrippinenses conditoris sui
 nomine vocentur, origine erubescunt, transgressi olim et
 30 experimento fidei super ipsam Rheni ripam collocati, ut
 arcerent, non ut custodirentur.

29 *Of the Batavi, in the island of the Rhine, and of the Mattiaci. Of the mixed population of the Decumates agri.*

Omnium harum gentium virtute praecipui Batavi non multum ex ripa, sed insulam Rheni amnis colunt, Chattorum quondam populus et seditione domestica in eas sedes 5 transgressus, in quibus pars Romani imperii fierent. manet honos et antiquae societatis insigne; nam nec tributis contemnuntur nec publicanus atterit; exempti oneribus et collationibus et tantum in usum proeliorum sepositi, velut tela atque arma, bellis reservantur. est in eodem obsequio 10 et Mattiacorum gens; protulit enim magnitudo populi Romani ultra Rhenum ultraque veteres terminos imperii reverentiam. ita sede finibusque in sua ripa, mente animoque nobiscum agunt, cetera similes Batavis, nisi quod ipso adhuc terrae suae solo et caelo acrius animantur. 15

Non numeraverim inter Germaniae populos, quamquam trans Rhenum Danuviumque consederint, eos qui decumates agros exercent: levissimus quisque Gallorum et inopia audax dubiae possessionis solum occupavere; mox limite 20 acto promotisque praesidiis sinus imperii et pars provinciae habentur.

30

Of the Chatti.

Ultra hos Chatti: initium sedis ab Hercynio saltu incohatur, non ita effusis ac palustribus locis, ut ceterae civitates, in quas Germania patescit: durant siquidem colles, 25 paulatim rarescunt, et Chattos suos saltus Hercynius prosequitur simul atque deponit. duriora genti corpora, stricti artus, minax vultus et maior animi vigor. multum, ut inter Germanos, rationis ac sollertiae: praeponere electos, audire praepositos, nosse ordines, intellegere occasiones, 30 differre impetus, disponere diem, vallare noctem, fortunam inter dubia, virtutem inter certa numerare, quodque raris-

simum nec nisi Romanae disciplinae concessum, plus reponere in duce quam in exercitu. omne robur in peditibus, quem super arma ferramentis quoque et copiis onerant: alios ad proelium ire videas, Chattos ad bellum. rari ex-
 5 cursus et fortuita pugna. equestrium sane virium id proprium, cito parere victoriam, cito cedere: velocitas iuxta formidinem, cunctatio propior constantiae est.

Et aliis Germanorum populis usurpatum raro et privata **31**
 cuiusque audentia apud Chattos in consensum vertit, ut
 10 primum adoleverint, crinem barbamque submittere, nec nisi hoste caeso exuere votivum obligatumque virtuti oris habitum. super sanguinem et spolia revelant frontem, sequetur demum pretia nascendi rettulisse dignosque patria ac parentibus ferunt: ignavis et imbellibus manet squalor.
 15 fortissimus quisque ferreum insuper anulum (ignominiosum id genti) velut vinculum gestat, donec se caede hostis absolvat. plurimis Chattorum hic placet habitus, iamque canent insignes et hostibus simul suisque monstrati. omnium penes hos initia pugnarum; haec prima semper acies,
 20 visu nova: nam ne in pace quidem cultu mitiore mansuescunt. nulli domus aut ager aut aliqua cura: prout ad quemque venire, aluntur, prodigi alieni, contemptores sui, donec exsanguis senectus tam durae virtuti impares faciat.

25

*Of the Usipi and Tencteri.***32**

Proximi Chattis certum iam alveo Rhenum, quique terminus esse sufficiat, Usipi ac Tencteri colunt. Tencteri super solitum bellorum decus equestris disciplinae arte praecellunt; nec maior apud Chattos peditum laus quam
 30 Tencteris equitum. sic instituere maiores: posterius imitantur. hi lusus infantum, haec iuvenum aemulatio: perseverant senes. inter familiam et penates et iura succes-

sionum equi traduntur : excipit filius, non ut cetera, maximus natu, sed prout ferox bello et melior.

33 *Of the Chamavi and Angrivarii who had expelled and supplanted the Bructeri.*

Iuxta Tencteros Bructeri olim occurrebant : nunc Chamavos et Angrivarios immigrasse narratur, pulsus Bructeris ac penitus excisis vicinarum consensu nationum, seu superbiae odio seu praedae dulcedine seu favore quodam erga nos deorum ; nam ne spectaculo quidem proelii invidere. super sexaginta milia non armis telisque Romanis, sed ¹⁰ quod magnificentius est, oblectationi oculisque ceciderunt. maneat, quaeso, duretque gentibus, si non amor nostri, at certe odium sui, quando urgentibus imperii fatibus nihil iam praestare fortuna maius potest quam hostium discordiam.

34 *Of the Dulgubnii, Chasuarii and Frisii ; of the pillars of Hercules said ¹⁵ to be still existing in the country of the last.*

Angrivarios et Chamavos a tergo Dulgubnii et Chasuarii cludunt aliaeque gentes haud perinde memoratae, a fronte Frisii excipiunt. maioribus minoribusque Frisiis vocabulum est ex modo virium. utraeque nationes usque ²⁰ ad Oceanum Rheno praetexuntur ambiuntque immensos insuper lacus et Romanis classibus navigatos. ipsum quin etiam Oceanum illa temptavimus : et superesse adhuc Herculis columnas fama vulgavit, sive adiit Hercules, seu quidquid ubique magnificum est, in claritatem eius referre ²⁵ consensimus. nec defuit audentia Druso Germanico, sed obstitit Oceanus in se simul atque in Herculem inquiri. mox nemo temptavit, sanctiusque ac reverentius visum de actis deorum credere quam scire.

Of the Chauci.

35

Hactenus in occidentem Germaniam novimus ; in septentrionem ingenti flexu recedit. ac primo statim Chaucorum gens, quamquam incipiat a Frisiis ac partem litoris occupet, omnium quas exposui gentium lateribus obtenditur, donec in Chattos usque sinuetur. tam inmensum terrarum spatium non tenent tantum Chauci, sed et implent, populus inter Germanos nobilissimus, quique magnitudinem suam malit iustitia tueri. sine cupiditate, sine impotentia, quieti secretique nulla provocant bella, nullis raptibus aut latrociniis populantur. id praecipuum virtutis ac virium argumentum est, quod, ut superiores agant, non per iniurias adsequuntur ; prompta tamen omnibus arma ac, si res poscat, [exercitus], plurimum virorum equorumque ; et quiescentibus eadem
15 fama.

Of the Cherusci and their neighbours the Fosi.

36

In latere Chaucorum Chattorumque Cherusci nimiam ac marcentem diu pacem inlaccessiti nutrierunt : idque iucundius quam tutius fuit, quia inter inpotentes et validos falso
20 quiescas : ubi manu agitur, modestia ac probitas nomina superiori sunt. ita qui olim boni aeque Cherusci, nunc inertes ac stulti vocantur : Chattis victoribus fortuna in sapientiam cessit. tracti ruina Cheruscorum et Fosi, contermina gens, adversarum rerum ex aequo socii sunt, cum in
25 secundis minores fuissent.

Of the Cimbri.

37

Eundem Germaniae sinum proximi Oceano Cimbri tenent, parva nunc civitas, sed gloria ingens. veterisque famae lata vestigia manent, utraque ripa castra ac spatia,
30 quorum ambitu nunc quoque metiaris molem manusque gentis et tam magni exitus fidem. sescentimum et quad-

ragesimum annum urbs nostra agebat, cum primum Cimbro-
rum audita sunt arma Caecilio Metello et Papirio Carbone
consulibus. ex quo si ad alterum imperatoris Traiani
consulatum computemus, ducenti ferme et decem anni
colliguntur: tam diu Germania vincitur. medio tam longi
aevi spatio multa in vicem damna. non Samnis, non
Poeni, non Hispaniae Galliaeve, ne Parthi quidem saepius
admonuere: quippe regno Arsacis acrior est Germanorum
libertas. quid enim aliud nobis quam caedem Crassi, amisso
et ipse Pacoro, infra Ventidium deiectus Oriens obiecerit?
at Germani Carbone et Cassio et Scauro Aurelio et Servilio
Caepione Gnaeoque Mallio fuis vel captis quinque simul
consularis exercitus populo Romano, Varum trisque cum eo
legiones etiam Caesari abstulerunt; nec impune C. Marius in
Italia, divus Iulius in Gallia, Drusus ac Nero et Germanicus
in suis eos sedibus perculerunt: mox ingentes Gai Caesaris
minae in ludibrium versae. inde otium, donec occasione
discordiae nostrae et civilium armorum expugnatis legionum
hibernis etiam Gallias adfectavere; ac rursus inde pulsi
proximis temporibus triumphati magis quam victi sunt.

38 *Of the Suebian Germans (which is the common appellative of a number
of German peoples, inhabiting the largest part of Germany) and
their general characteristics.*

Nunc de Suebis dicendum est, quorum non una, ut
Chattorum Tencterorumve gens; maiorem enim Germaniae
partem obtinent, propriis adhuc nationibus nominibusque
discreti, quamquam in commune Suebi vocentur. insigne
gentis obliquare crinem nodoque substringere: sic Suebi a
ceteris Germanis, sic Sueborum ingenui a servis separantur.
in aliis gentibus seu cognatione aliqua Sueborum seu, quod
saepe accidit, imitatione, rarum et intra iuventae spatium,
apud Suebos usque ad canitiem horrentem capillum retor-

quent, ac saepe in ipso vertice religant; principes et ornatiorem habent. ea cura formae, sed innoxia; neque enim ut ament amenturve, in altitudinem quandam et terrorem adituri bella comptius hostium oculis ornantur.

Of the several Suebian-German peoples, (1) the Semnones.

39

Vetustissimos nobilissimosque Sueborum Semnones memorant; fides antiquitatis religione firmatur. stato tempore in silvam auguriis patrum et prisca formidine sacram omnes eiusdem sanguinis populi legationibus coeunt
 10 caesoque publice homine celebrant barbari ritus horrenda primordia. est et alia luco reverentia: nemo nisi vinculo ligatus ingreditur, ut minor et potestatem numinis prae se ferens. si forte prolapsus est, attolli et insurgere haud licitum: per humum evolvuntur. eoque omnis superstitio
 15 respicit, tamquam inde initia gentis, ibi regnator omnium deus, cetera subiecta atque parentia. adicit auctoritatem fortuna Semnonum: centum pagis habitant, magnoque corpore efficitur ut se Sueborum caput credant.

(2) the Langobardi, (3) the Reudigni, (4) the Aviones, (5) the Anglii, 40
 20 (6) the Varini, (7) the Eudoses, (8) the Suardones, (9) the Nuitones.

Contra Langobardos paucitas nobilitat: plurimis ac valentissimis nationibus cincti non per obsequium, sed proeliis ac periclitando tuti sunt. Reudigni deinde et Aviones et Anglii et Varini et Eudoses et Suardones et Nuitones
 25 fluminibus aut silvis muniuntur. nec quicquam notabile in singulis, nisi quod in commune Nerthum, id est Terram matrem, colunt eamque intervenire rebus hominum, invehì populis arbitrantur. est in insula Oceani castum nemus, dicatumque in eo vehiculum, veste contextum; attingere uni
 30 sacerdoti concessum. is adesse penetrali deam intellegit vectamque bubus feminis multa cum veneratione prosequitur.

laeti tunc dies, festa loca, quaecumque adventu hospitioque dignatur. non bella ineunt, non arma sumunt; clausum omne ferrum; pax et quies tunc tantum nota, tunc tantum amata, donec idem sacerdos satiatam conversatione mortaliū deam templo reddat. mox vehiculum et vestes et, si credere velis, numen ipsum secreto lacu abluitur. servi ministrant, quos statim idem lacus haurit. arcanus hinc terror sanctaque ignorantia, quid sit illud, quod tantum perituri vident.

41

(10) *the Hermunduri.*

10

Et haec quidem pars Sueborum in secretiora Germaniae porrigitur: propior, ut, quo modo paulo ante Rhenum, sic nunc Danuvium sequar, Hermundurorum civitas, fida Romanis; eoque solis Germanorum non in ripa commercium, sed penitus atque in splendidissima Raetiae provin-
ciae colonia. passim sine custode transeunt; et cum ceteris gentibus arma modo castraque nostra ostendamus, his domos villasque patefecimus non concupiscentibus. in Hermunduris Albis oritur, flumen inclutum et notum olim; nunc tantum auditur.

20

42

(11) *the Varisti*, (12) *the Marcomani*, (13) *the Quadi.*

Iuxta Hermunduros Varisti ac deinde Marcomani et Quadi agunt. praecipua Marcomanorum gloria viresque, atque ipsa etiam sedes pulsis olim Boiis virtute parta. nec Varisti Quadive degenerant. eaque Germaniae velut frons
est, quatenus Danuvio praecingitur. Marcomanis Quadisque usque ad nostram memoriam reges manserunt ex gente ipsorum, nobile Marobodui et Tudri genus (iam et externos patiuntur), sed vis et potentia regibus ex auctoritate Romana. raro armis nostris, saepius pecunia iuvantur, nec
minus valent.

39

(14) the Marsigni, (15) the Cotini, (16) the Osi, (17) the Buri, (18) the 43
Lugii, divided into several communities with names of their own,
 (19) the Gotones, (20) the Rugii, (21) the Lemovii. *Of these the*
Cotini, and Osi, the former using the Gallic, the latter the
 5 *Pannonian tongue, appear to be not true Germans.*

Retro Marsigni, Cotini, Osi, Buri terga Marcomanorum
 Quadorumque claudunt. e quibus Marsigni et Buri ser-
 mone cultuque Suebos referunt: Cotinos Gallica, Osos
 Pannonica lingua coarguit non esse Germanos, et quod
 10 tributa patiuntur. partem tributorum Sarmatae, partem
 Quadi ut alienigenis imponunt: Cotini, quo magis pudeat,
 et ferrum effodiunt. omnesque hi populi pauca campes-
 trium, ceterum saltus et vertices montium [iugumque] inse-
 derunt. dirimit enim scinditque Suebiam continuum mon-
 15 tium iugum, ultra quod plurimae gentes agunt, ex quibus
 latissime patet Lugiorum nomen in plures civitates diffusum.
 valentissimas nominasse sufficiet, Harios, Helveconas, Ma-
 nimos, Elisios, Nahanarvalos. apud Nahanarvalos antiquae
 religionis lucus ostenditur. praesidet sacerdos muliebri
 20 ornatu, sed deos interpretatione Romana Castorem Pollu-
 cemque memorant. ea vis numini, nomen Alcis. nulla
 simulacra, nullum peregrinae superstitionis vestigium; ut
 fratres tamen, ut iuvenes venerantur. ceterum Harii super
 vires, quibus enumeratos paulo ante populos antecedunt,
 25 truces insitae feritati arte ac tempore lenocinantur: nigra
 scuta, tincta corpora; atras ad proelia noctes legunt ipsaque
 formidine atque umbra feralis exercitus terrorem inferunt,
 nullo hostium sustinente novum ac velut infernum ad-
 spectum; nam primi in omnibus proeliis oculi vincuntur.

30 Trans Lugios Gotones regnantur, paulo iam adductius
 quam ceterae Germanorum gentes, nondum tamen supra
 libertatem. protinus deinde ab Oceano Rugii et Lemovii;

omniumque harum gentium insigne rotunda scuta, breves gladii et erga reges obsequium.

44

(22) *the Suiones.*

Suionum hinc civitates, ipso in Oceano, praeter viros armaque classibus valent. forma navium eo differt, quod 5 utrimque prora paratam semper adpulsui frontem agit. nec velis ministrant nec remos in ordinem lateribus adiungunt: solutum, ut in quibusdam fluminum, et mutabile, ut res poscit, hinc vel illinc remigium. est apud illos et opibus honos, eoque unus imperitat, nullis iam exceptionibus, non 10 precario iure parendi. nec arma, ut apud ceteros Germanos, in promiscuo, sed clausa sub custode, et quidem servo, quia subitos hostium incursus prohibet Oceanus, otiosae porro armatorum manus facile lasciviunt: enimvero neque nobilem neque ingenuum, ne libertinum quidem armis 15 praeponere regia utilitas est.

45 (23) *the Aestii on the right-hand coast of the Suebian sea, apparently Suebian, but in language more like the people of Britain, (24) the Sitones.*

Trans Suionas aliud mare, pigrum ac prope inmotum, 20 quo cingi cludique terrarum orbem hinc fides, quod extremus cadentis iam solis fulgor in ortum edurat adeo clarus, ut sidera hebetet; sonum insuper emergentis audiri formasque equorum et radios capitis adspici persuasio adicit. illuc usque, si fama vera, tantum natura. ergo iam dextro 25 Suebici maris litore Aestiorum gentes adluuntur, quibus ritus habitusque Sueborum, lingua Britannicae propior. matrem deum venerantur. insigne superstitionis formas aprorum gestant: id pro armis omnique tutela securum deae cultorem etiam inter hostis praestat. rarus ferri, frequens fustium 30 usus. frumenta ceterosque fructus patientius quam pro solita Germanorum inertia laborant. sed et mare scrutantur,

ac soli omnium sucinum, quod ipsi glaesum vocant, inter vada atque in ipso litore legunt. nec quae natura quaeve ratio gignat, ut barbaris, quaesitum compertumve; diu quin etiam inter cetera eiectamenta maris iacebat, donec luxuria
 5 nostra dedit nomen. ipsis in nullo usu: rude legitur, informe perfertur, pretiumque mirantes accipiunt. sucum tamen arborum esse intellegas, quia terrena quaedam atque etiam volucris animalia plerumque interiacent, quae implicata humore mox durescente materia cluduntur. fecundiora igitur nemora lucosque sicut Orientis secretis, ubi tura balsamaque sudantur, ita Occidentis insulis terrisque inesse crediderim, quae vicini solis radiis expressa atque liquentia in proximum mare labuntur ac vi tempestatum in adversa litora exundant. si naturam sucini admoto igni
 15 temptes, in modum taedae accenditur alitque flammam pinguem et olentem; mox ut in picem resinamve lentescit.

Suionibus Sitonum gentes continuantur. cetera similes uno differunt, quod femina dominatur; in tantum non modo a libertate sed etiam a servitute degenerant.

20 *Of the Peucini, otherwise called Bastarnae, the Venedi and Fenni, probably German peoples, but exhibiting traces of Sarmatian admixture; of the fabulous Hellusii and Oxiones.* 46

Hic Suebiae finis. Peucinorum Venedorumque et Fennorum nationes Germanis an Sarmatis adscribam dubito,
 25 quamquam Peucini, quos quidam Bastarnas vocant, sermone cultu, sede ac domiciliis ut Germani agunt. sordes omnium ac torpor: ora procerum conubiis mixtis nonnihil in Sarmatarum habitum foedantur. Venedi multum ex moribus traxerunt; nam quidquid inter Peucinos Fennosque
 30 silvarum ac montium erigitur latrociniis pererrant. hi tamen inter Germanos potius referuntur, quia et domos figunt et scuta gestant et pedum usu et pernecitate gaudent: quae

omnia diversa Sarmatis sunt in plaustro equoque viventibus. Fennis mira feritas, foeda paupertas : non arma, non equi, non penates ; victui herba, vestitui pelles, cubili humus : solae in sagittis opes, quas inopia ferri ossibus asperant. idemque venatus viros pariter ac feminas alit ; passim enim 5 comitantur partemque praedae petunt. nec aliud infantibus ferarum imbriumque suffugium quam ut in aliquo ramorum nexu contegantur : huc redeunt iuvenes, hoc senum receptaculum. sed beatius arbitrantur quam ingemere agris, inlaborare domibus, suas alienasque fortunas spe metuque 10 versare : securi adversus homines, securi adversus deos rem difficillimam adsecuti sunt, ut illis ne voto quidem opus esset. cetera iam fabulosa : Hellusios et Oxionas ora hominum voltusque, corpora atque artus ferarum gerere : quod ego ut incompertum in medio relinquam.

NOTES.

AGRICOLA.

CHAPTER I.

- p. 1. 7 *usitatum*] a participle qualifying the whole noun phrase *clarorum...tradere*, instead of the more usual relative sentence, a Tacitean usage more common in the later than in the earlier works.
quamquam] without a verb; cf. *Germ.* c. 4, l. 9.
- 8 *incuriosa*] a word which first appears in Livy, who uses only the adverb of it.
suorum] prob. neuter, which is more general and inclusive than the masculine, cf. *Ann.* II. 88 *dum vetera extollimus, recentium incuriosi*, 'indifferent to her own.'
- 9 *supergressa*] a late word.
- 10 *ignorantiam*] perhaps 'ignoring' rather than 'ignorance,' for the singular *vitium* shows that *ign. recti* and *invidiam* are two aspects of the same vice, 'dislike to recognise virtue and jealousy,' cf. Livy's use of *inmemor* and *obliviscor* in the active sense of 'disregarding,' e.g. II. 2. 3, 6. 9.
recti] gen. of *rectum* = *honestum*, 'virtue.'
- 11 *prorum*] first used of things by Sallust *Jug.* 80 and 144; the metaphor is the converse of that in *arduum*; it means here that it was easier to start such a course of action because more opportunities were offered, *in aperto* expressing that once started it had a clearer course, met with fewer obstacles; 'noteworthy action was open to all and encountered fewer checks.'
- 12 *celeberrimus*] in earlier prose writers always carries with it the implication of 'frequency' in some aspect or other, here it seems to be used simply as a synonym for *clarus*. *ingenio* qualifies *celeberrimus*.
- 13 *gratia*] meant both the feeling of kindness or favor towards a person, and also that which commands a feeling of kindness or favor, hence the personal influence gained by laying a person under an obliga-

tion. It is from this latter sense that it acquired the bad implication of self-interest which it so often has, as here; for here, connected as it is with *ambitio*, it means an interested desire to please the person whose biography is written, rather than simply 'partiality.'

ambitione] properly, 'canvassing,' means the desire to make oneself popular with a view to one's own advancement; 'without favor-hunting or self-advertisement.'

- 14 *bonae conscientiae*] = *boni conscientiae* by the same sort of attraction which accounts for the use of *hic* &c., for *propter hanc rem* &c., in such phrases as *haec ira* = *propter hanc rem ira*; the 'consciousness of good' here = 'the satisfaction of having done right.' *pretio* = *praemio*, cf. Seneca *Clem.* I. i. 1 *virtutum pretium*, is an ablative of price rather than of cause or means, 'they were led &c. for the satisfaction of feeling that they were doing right.' For the sentiment, cf. Pliny *Epp.* v. 8, Seneca *Ep.* 102.

ac] here adds a statement by way of confirmation, and = *atque adeo*, cf. c. 28 *ac fuere*.

- 15 *ipsi*] in accordance with the idiom by which Latin writers preferred to use *ipse* and *quisque* in agreement with the subject, e.g., *nec hostes modo timebant sed suosmet ipsi cives*, even where strict grammar, as here, did not allow it, e.g., with the ablative absolute, *sua ipse causa dicta*, and with gerunds, *se ipse revocando*, *cogendo ipse agmen* &c.

morum] sc. *suorum* 'confidence in their own character,' what we might perhaps call 'a healthy self-confidence'; autobiography shows that a man is not ashamed of his life.

- 16 *Rutilio*] P. Rutilius Rufus, friend of Laelius and Scipio, was consul in B.C. 105. He was an orator of some note and Stoic philosopher and a man of the highest integrity. In B.C. 92 he was accused and convicted of malversation in the province of Asia, where he had served as legatus under Q. Mucius Scaevola. The *iudicia* were then in the hands of the *equites*, and Rutilius was really condemned for having repressed the extortions of the *publicani* in the province.

Scauro] consul in B.C. 115 and 107, *princeps senatus*, and the most active and able supporter of the aristocratic party. He was more than once accused by his political opponents, but always acquitted. As however he was legate to Calpurnius Bestia in the first war with Jugurtha, and died very rich, though he began life very poor, it would seem as if his public conduct had not been unimpeachable. Sallust says of him that he was *homo nobilis impiger factiosus, avidus potentiae honoris divitiarum; ceterum vitia sua callide occultans*.

citra] 'short of' = 'without,' a late use, cf. c. 35.

17 *adeo*] the common use of *adeo* qualifying the whole sentence which follows and introducing a confirmation of the previous statement, 'so true is it that.'

18 *nunc*] 'in these days,' as opposed to those better times.

19 *venia*] = *veniae petitione*, a condensation which is made intelligible by the following *petissem*.

fuit] perfect, because the whole previous passage is practically a *petitio veniae*. 'I have found it necessary to crave indulgence as I should not have done &c.'

CHAPTER II.

p. 2. 1 *Aruleno ..Herennio*] dative of agent, used in accordance with the usage of the best prose writers, when in addition to the notion of agency the interest of the agent is in some way implied, so here *laudati* implies that these persons were subjects or themes for laudation to their biographers.

L. Iunius Arulenus Rusticus] stoic, friend and pupil of Paetus Thrasea, was tribune in A.D. 66, when Thrasea was condemned, and would have placed his veto on the *senatus consultum*, but Thrasea forbade him. He was praetor in A.D. 69, and put to death by Domitian for his panegyric on Thrasea.

Paetus Thrasea] the famous stoic statesman of Nero's reign, who opposed that emperor's tyranny on every fitting occasion until the Senate by Nero's order in A.D. 66 condemned him to death; *Ann.* XVI. 21 fol.

Herennius Senecio] a native of Baetica in Spain, friend of the younger Pliny, put to death by Domitian for the offence mentioned in the text.

2 *Helvidius Priscus*] son-in-law and supporter of Paetus Thrasea in his opposition to Nero's tyranny was banished at the same time that Thrasea was put to death; for a description of his character see *Hist.* IV. 5.

4 *triumviris*] sc. *capitalibus*, inferior magistrates, who had charge of the prisons, and the execution of those who were put to death in prison. They had also a summary jurisdiction over slaves and *peregrini*. The ignominy was increased by choosing these magistrates to burn the books, such a duty being usually performed by the Aediles.

ut...urerentur] depend on *delegato ministerio* which in sense = *negotio dato*.

monumenta] is often used to mean scarcely more than 'writings,' Cic. *Brutus* 49. 181, but here it has its full meaning 'monumental work,' *ingeniorum* meaning the writers not their heroes. The concrete use of *ingenia* of men of talent or genius (like our 'wits') is a late one.

5 *comitio ac foro*] the comitium was the part of the Forum furthest from the Capitoline, covering about $\frac{1}{4}$ of the whole area. Public punishments were inflicted here, Pliny *Epp.* IV. 11, Suet. *Domit.* c. 8, Livy XXII. 57. 'In the comitium and in the Forum,' therefore, expresses disgrace as well as publicity. Any other writer would probably have reversed the order of the words, cf. Pliny *N. H.* xv. 77 *in foro ipso ac comitio*.

6 *scilicet*] ironical, as generally in prose.

7 *conscientiam*] some editors take this to mean 'the moral consciousness,' almost 'conscience' in our pregnant sense of the word, but the bare word could hardly mean that in Latin. T. seems to use it instead of *memoria* (which we should naturally expect here) in the simple sense of 'cognizance,' 'being privy to something.' Domitian and his court thought, by burning the books, they would keep posterity in the dark about the facts recorded in them.

expulsis insuper] another reason for thinking as they did: by ridding themselves of everyone and everything that was opposed to them, they expected their iniquities to lie hid.

8 *professoribus*] 'public teachers,' a post-Augustan word.

omni bona arte] 'every high pursuit,' *ars* seems here to be used in its widest sense, including arts, sciences and moral accomplishments.

As to the fact cf. Aul. Gellius X. 11. 5 *Domitiano imperante senatus consulto philosophi eiecti* and Pliny *Epp.* III. 11. 2, also *Panegy.* 47 *quae (studia) priorum temporum immanitas exsiliis puniebat, cum sibi vitiorum conscius princeps inimicas vitiis artes non odio magis quam reverentia relegaret*.

9 *occurreret*] without dative, is used in this period absolutely = *inveniri*. Here however there is perhaps the notion of hostile encounter; a dative may be supplied from what precedes.

10 *patientiae*] 'longsuffering.'

11 *vetus*] in Imperial times is used of anything belonging to Republican times and does not necessarily imply great antiquity, cf. *Germ.* c. 5, l. 31.

12 *per inquisitiones*] alludes to the system of espionage carried on by means of *delatores*, which Domitian after the first few years of his reign practised as vigorously as Tiberius had done.

loquendi &c.] 'all interchange of thought in conversation.'

NOTES.

CHAPTER III.

- 16 *redit*] present, 'is returning,' it returned by degrees, not all
et] not quite as Draeger says = *et tamen*, but rather is adapted
 present tense, 'our courage is beginning to return *and* the recovery
 accordingly is slow.'
- 17 *primo ortu*] a common pleonasm; *statim* qualifies *primo*, a frequent
 combination, 'from the very first opening.'
saeculi] 'reign,' a special use of the word in reference to the em-
 perors, cf. c. 44, l. 13, Pliny *Epp.* x. 1. 2 *precor ut tibi prospera omnia,*
id est, digna saeculo tuo contingant.
dissociabiles] not used elsewhere in prose, Horace uses it in an active
 sense.
- 18 *miscuerit*] the subj. after *quamquam* where other writers would use
 the indic. is a mannerism of Tacitus.
principatum] *princeps* = *princeps senatus*, 'first citizen,' was the title
 adopted by the emperors to express their position as civil heads of the
 state. On this passage see Introduction.
- 19 *nec spem* &c.] 'has passed beyond hoping and praying and gained
 the assurance and substance (reality) of the thing hoped for.' There is
 a zeugma in the use of *adsumpserit* which is only appropriate to *fiduciam*
ac robur; *conceperit* or some similar word must be supplied to govern
spem ac votum.
- 20 *voti*] when the prayer is realised it becomes the thing prayed for,
robur carries the notion of 'substance,' 'solidity,' 'reality.' The perso-
 nification in *securitas*, which is said to offer the prayers which are offered
 by men to gain it, is a bold one.
fiduciam ac robur] may be an instance of hendiadys (cf. *Germ.* c. 2,
 l. 8) 'solid assurance,' but there seems no need to take it so.
- 24 *subit*] poetic use of the word, 'then there is as we know (*quippe*) the
 stealing charm of mere inertia.'
- 25 *quid? si*] 'again consider this, that &c.,' the regular rhetorical ellip-
 tical use in transition to a new and important point in an argument.
- 26 *quindecim*] the length of Domitian's reign.
- 27 *promptissimus*] 'the ablest minds,' *promptus* used absolutely means
 'ready to do the right thing at the right moment.'
- 28 *dixerim*] the use of the perfect instead of the present in these expres-
 sions belongs to post-Augustan Latin, Roby, *Lat. Gr.* II. p. 282.
- 29 *nostri*] cf. Seneca *Ep.* 30. 5 *videtur mihi vivere tanquam superstes*

and infirm man, who had given up all interest in life. *status* means by their having outlived themselves is explained *cause exemptis* &c. They had died, politically speaking, for 15 , and had come out of their grave, old men, to find everything new and strange to them. They could not recover the feelings of their early manhood all at once.

32 *tamen*] in spite of all the drawbacks just mentioned.
non pigebit] = *iuvabit*.

33 *composuisse*] real perfect. T. means 'I shall be glad when I shall have composed, &c.,' alluding to the *Histories*, already begun.

p. 3. 2 *professione*] 'as an expression,' lit. 'by reason of its professing.'

CHAPTER IV.

4 *Foroiuliensium*] Forum Iulii, mod. Fréjus, a naval station on the coast of Gallia Narbonensis, was founded as a colony by Julius Caesar, B.C. 44.

5 *procuratorem*] the *procuratores Caesaris* were the finance officers of the Imperial provinces corresponding to the Quaestors in the senatorial. But in the latter also there was a *procurator* who managed all the imperial domains and all revenues payable to the *fiscus* or privy purse of the emperors in those provinces. The procuratorship carried equestrian rank, so that T. says here that Agricola inherited equestrian rank on both sides of his family.

6 *Graecinus*] little more is known about this man than is told us here. Seneca speaks highly of him, *de Benef.* II. 21 *si exemplo magni animi opus est, utamur Graecini Iulii, viri egregii, quem C. Caesar occidit ob hoc unum quod melior vir esset quam esse quemquam tyranno expediret.*

7 *sapientiae*] philosophy.

8 *Gai*] Caligula.

9 *Silanum*] M. Iunius Silanus was consul under Tiberius in A.D. 19. In the reign of Caligula, who married his daughter in A.D. 33, he was governor of Africa, but his son-in-law becoming jealous of him compelled him to commit suicide.

11 *sinu indulgentiaque*] hendiadys, see *Germ.* c. 2, l. 8, 'under her loving care,' *in sinu* implies that Procilla reared her child herself, did not entrust him to the care of nurses, cf. *Dialog.* c. 28.

13 *peccantium*] substantival use of the participle, an idiom rare in

classical writers, but not unfrequent in Livy and frequent in Tacitus, in both commoner in the pl. than in the singular.

- 14 *quod...habuit*] subject to *arcebat*.
- 16 *mixtum*] 'a place which afforded a happy combination of Greek refinement and provincial frugality.' Strabo (IV. p. 181) speaks of Massilia as a seat of education resorted to by Romans in preference to Athens. Compare also Tac. *Ann.* IV. 44. 4.
- 18 *ultra quam concessum*] is epexegetical of *acrius*, 'too keenly, that is, beyond the measure permissible to, &c.'
- concessum*] sc. *esset*.
- 19 *Romano ac senatori*] a Roman of position, especially a senator, who studied philosophy, was an object of suspicion to the Roman emperors, the study of philosophy being generally associated with republican sentiments.
- hausisse ni*] contracted apodosis. Agricola had indulged his taste for philosophy too eagerly (and would have continued to do so) had not, &c.; so *numeros memini si verba tenerem*, 'I remember the tune (and could sing the song) if, &c.' It is best rendered by translating *ni* by 'but' and *si* by 'but...not'; compare Livy II. 10.
- 20 *sublime*] 'lofty,' *erectum*, 'aspiring.'
- 21 *speciem*] 'the beautiful image,' or 'ideal beauty.' *species* is used by Cicero in the sense of a perfect form or ideal, *Orat.* v. 18 *insidebat in eius mente species eloquentiae quam cernebat animo, reipsa non videbat*.
- 22 *vehementius quam caute*] the more usual idiom would be *cautius*; the double comparative is generally used when the degree of different qualities possessed by the same subject is expressed. Compare however *Hist.* I. 83 *acrius quam considerate*.
- 23 *ratio*] 'reflection.'
- 24 *modum*] 'moderation,' 'avoidance of extremes,' almost 'practical wisdom'; 'He retired from philosophy possessed of tact.'

CHAPTER V.

- 26 *Suetonio*] cc. 14—16.
- 27 *diligenti* &c.] 'painstaking and careful,' cf. *Hist.* II. 25 *Suetonius... cunctator natura et cui cauta potius consilia cum ratione quam prospera ex casu placerent*.
- adprobavit*] 'he approved his military apprenticeship to S.' = 'he served his apprenticeship with credit under.'
- electus quem* &c.] either 'selected as one fit for personal attendance

on himself,' in which case *contubernio* is abl. of price and *aestimo* used like *censeo*, cf. c. 45 (rated at the value of *contubernium*), or, better, 'selected for the test of personal attendance,' lit. 'selected to be judged by *contubernium*.'

- 28 *contubernio*] young men who had the advantage of personal introduction to the general served under his immediate supervision and were said to be in *contubernio ducis*, cf. Sallust *Jug.* 64. They seem to have formed a sort of appendage to the *cohors praetoria* or staff of the general.

nec] = *neque enim* and gives a reason confirming the statement *adprobavit*.

- 29 *segniter*] coupled to *licenter*, the two faults either of which might have led Agricola to waste his apprenticeship. Neither the fashionable licentiousness of youths who &c., nor laziness led him to make use of his rank as tribune, or his inexperience, to indulge in pleasures or obtain frequent leave of absence. As a youth of good position taking rank as a tribune he would naturally have opportunities of self-indulgence, and the inexperience of a young officer who would not be missed would facilitate his obtaining leave of absence.

- 30 *tribunatus*] cf. Suet. *Aug.* 38 *liberis senatorum...militiam auspicantibus non tribunatum modo sed et praefecturas alarum dedit*. Such youths would of course be useless as tribunes, their tribuneship therefore would be merely titular, hence *titulum tribunatus*, not *tribunatum*.

- 31 *rettulit ad*] 'made subservient to,' the word governed by *ad* in this phrase is properly the standard to which something is referred, e.g., *omnia ad voluptatem referre* of the Epicurean philosophy; hence it comes to mean the end to which something is used as a means.

- p. 4. 1 *nihil adpetere* &c.] 'he never courted service for display nor refused it for fear.' This final use of *in* with accus. practically begins with Livy.

- 2 *simulque*] 'but behaved with equal caution and energy,' *que* coupling to a negative an affirmative sentence which is epexegetical of it, has an adversative force.

anxius] = *cautissimus*, a sense only found here. and corresponds to *nihil adpetere*, &c., as *intentus* corresponds to *nihil recusare*, &c. He was very cautious about undertaking anything, but gave his whole powers to what was given him to do.

- 3 *magis in ambiguo*] 'in a more critical position.'

- 4 *veteran*] apparently in the attack on Camulodunum, cf. c. 16.

- 8 *cessit in*] has a slightly different meaning with *summa rerum*, 'the

supreme command,' and with *gloria*, 'devolved on,' and 'fell to the share of.'

9 *temporibus*] it seems doubtful whether this is the dative after *ingrata* or the ablative of time. In the latter case *ingrata* prob. means 'thankless'; in the former case 'unacceptable to days in which &c.' is a bold personification for 'finding no favor in days &c.' As *quibus* is certainly abl., it is best perhaps to take *temporibus* so also.

10 *interpretatio*] 'eminence is always misinterpreted, and a great reputation more dangerous than a bad one.'

CHAPTER VI.

16 *natalibus*] from *natales* (subst.), = *loco* or *genere*; the use belongs to post-Augustan Latin.

18 *robur*] 'substantial help.'

19 *anteponendo*] this modal use of the gerund, in which the gerund is just equivalent to a present participle, is found in Livy. Writers before him rarely use the gerund except in an instrumental sense, see Livy IV. Pitt Press edn. Appendix.

nisi quod] a very loose use of *nisi* to take exception to something implied in the previous sentence, that is, that both Agricola and his wife were equally praiseworthy; *nisi* will perhaps be best rendered by 'only,' cf. *Ann.* I. 33. 3 *atque ipsa Agrippina paullo commotior, nisi quod castitate et mariti amore quamvis indomitum animum in bonum vertebat.*

21 *pro consule*] the prepositional phrase = a substantive, here in the accusative case, as in l. 23 in the nominative.

23 *parata*] 'inviting,' in consequence of the facilities it afforded.
peccantibus] sc. *magistratibus*.

24 *quantalibet*] 'with all the readiness in the world,' the use of *quantuslibet* begins with Livy.

26 *in subsidium* &c.]. 'to assist as well as to comfort him,' *in subsidium* seems to refer back to the beginning of the chapter *ad capeſsendos* &c. By the *lex Papia Poppaea* (amongst other provisions of a similar nature) preference was secured in elections to candidates with children.

in] this consecutive use of the preposition very common in Tacitus begins with Livy.

sublatum] practically = 'born,' the lifting up of the child by the father in token that he acknowledged and meant to rear it was apparently merely formal at this time.

27 *inter quaesturam...plebis*] qualify *annum*.

28 *tribunatus*] the office of tribune under the empire was little more than titular, as the emperor vested all the powers of the office in himself.
 30 *tenor et silentium*] hendiadys, 'the same unbroken (evenly maintained) reserve.'

31 *iurisdictio*] that is, he was neither *praetor urbanus* nor *peregrinus*.
ludos] under the Republic the aediles had superintended all games except the *Apollinares* and *votivi*. But Augustus transferred all to the praetors.

inania] 'pagear'ry' (Ch. and B.), cf. *Ann.* II. 76 *inania famae*; this part of the duties is opposed to the substantial work of jurisdiction.

medio...duxit] with the reading of the text *duxit* must apparently mean 'guided'; 'he guided the shows between (that is, held a middle course in the performance of them between) economy and profusion.' If the emendation *media* is adopted *duxit* will mean 'considered'; 'considered them as things occupying a middle place between.'

32 *rationis*] calculation, plan, or method in expenditure, so pretty much what we mean by 'economy.'

uti...ita] used (as frequently) = *μὲν...δὲ*, with an adversative force, cf. Livy IV. 6. 2, 'keeping wide of prodigality, but within touch of his reputation,' that is, not being so economical as to damage his credit. Some editors render it, 'acting consistently with his reputation or known character in proportion as he kept clear of extravagance.' But this rendering seems to require *suae*, and the sentence looks as if T. meant the latter clause to modify the former.

p. 5. 2 *recognoscenda*] his duty was to examine the lists of temple offerings, and to trace and recover the missing ones. Nero, after the fire in A.D. 64, amongst other means of raising money confiscated temple offerings, *Ann.* XV. 45, Suet. *Nero* c. 32. How the other offerings had disappeared we are not told, but perhaps the same fire had afforded opportunities for such sacrilege. Agricola it seems recovered all the offerings except those which Nero had taken.

3 *sensisset*] the force of the plpf. is to represent the effect of all the sacrilege except Nero's as entirely cancelled by A.'s action. Instead of saying that, when Agricola had finished his work, the state seemed to have suffered from no one else's sacrilege, he says that it *had* not suffered; 'he made the state feel as though it had suffered &c.' So Pliny *Paneg.* c. 40 *effecisti ne malos principes habuissemus* 'you extinguished the badness of the emperors before you,' that is, 'you wiped out the memory of them.'

CHAPTER VII.

10 *classis Othoniana*] cf. *Hist.* II. 12, 13.

Intimilium] Albintimilium (mod. Vintimiglia) a few miles E. of the Gallic frontier.

13 *causa*] 'motive,' *quae*=*quod*, regularly attracted to agree with *causa*.

14 *sollemnia*] 'the rites of affection' are the rites (of funeral &c.) suggested by affection.

adfectati] 'the assumption of imperial power by Vespasian,' cf. Livy I. 46 *neque ea res Tarquinio spem affectandi regni minuit*; the word generally means only 'to aim at,' or 'strive after.'

16 *initia* &c.] hendiadys, 'the government of the city in the first days of the new reign was under the direction of M.'

regebat] is used in its simple sense of 'directing,' with no implication of kingly power.

M. Licinius Crassus Mucianus, governor of Syria at the time of Otho's suicide, urged Vespasian to contest the empire, and proceeded at once to Italy, where after the defeat of the Vitellians and the capture of Rome by Antonius primus, he undertook the direction of affairs as representative of Vespasian.

17 *ex paterna*] 'using his father's position only as a means of self-indulgence,' lit. 'out of his father's position only enjoying license.'

20 *ubi*] = *apud quos* in accordance with the idiom, frequent in Livy, by which an adverb is used as the equivalent of the case of a pronoun or of a preposition and pronoun, e.g., *alibi* = *apud alios*, *eodem* = *ad eundem virum*.

21 *decessor*] Caelius Rufus, who opposed the authority of the governor Trebellius Maximus so successfully that the latter was obliged to fly to Vitellius, who replaced him by Vettius Bolanus. The consequently unsettled state of affairs in the island probably accounts for the tardiness shown by the 20th legion in transferring their allegiance to Vespasian; cf. *Hist.* I. 60.

22 *consularibus*] *legati*, who had served the consulship, governors of imperial provinces containing more than one legion. *Legati praetorii*, legates who had served the praetorship, were only competent to command one legion, and were either governors of imperial provinces, in which there was only one legion, or, more frequently, as in the present case, commanders of single legions under a *legatus consularis*.

nimia] with dative, like our colloquial 'too much for,' is rare, cf. Vell. Pat. II. 32 *Pompeium nimium iam liberae reipublicae*.

- 23 *incertum an*] a favorite usage of Tacitus, esp. in his later writings, framed perhaps on the analogy of *mirum*, *immane* &c. *quantum*; an elliptical interrogative clause with a neuter adjective on which it depends is used as one adverb to qualify another predicate. In translating it is generally necessary to expand it into a separate sentence, 'but whether &c. is uncertain.'
- 24 *successor...ultor*] nouns used as participles, a usage very frequent in Livy, 'to avenge as well as to succeed him.' Cf. c. 16, l. 16.
- 25 *videri*] compare Sallust *Jug. c. 100 pudore magis quam malo* (punishment) *exercitum coercebat*.

CHAPTER VIII.

- 28 *compescuit*] post-Augustan in prose.
incresceret] a poetic and late prose word, meaning 'to increase considerably,' seems to be used here in the sense of 'to grow too great,' 'encroach.'
- peritus*] with infinitive is a poetic construction.
- 29 *eruditus*] with infinitive is found only in post-Augustan prose.
- 30 *virtutes*] 'his (A.'s) high qualities.'
- 31 *spatium exemplorum*] 'room for exemplary actions,' cf. *Ann. XV. 20 exempla honesta*.
- p. 6. 1 *in*] final, cf. c. 5, l. 1.
ex] 'in accordance with,' cf. c. 40, l. 16.
- 3 *auctorem*] 'to him who was the source of his authority and his general.'
- 5 *nec*] 'but not,' cf. Livy III. 55 *sine ulla patrum iniuria nec sine offensione*.

CHAPTER IX.

- 10 *revertentem*] the present participle expresses the immediateness of the honour, he was still returning when Vespasian did this.
- 11 *patricios*] "the patrician body still subsisted, though without essential privileges as an order, in the character of a close aristocratic guild; but as it could receive no new *gentes* it had dwindled away more and more in the course of centuries and in Caesar's time there were not more than fifteen or sixteen patrician *gentes* still in existence. Caesar, himself sprung from one of them, got the right of creating new patrician *gentes* conferred on the Emperor by decree of the people, and so established,

in contrast to the republican nobility, the new aristocracy of the patri-
 ciate, which most happily combined all the requisites of a monarchical
 aristocracy, the charm of antiquity, entire dependence on the govern-
 ment and total insignificance," Mommsen, *R. H.* v. iv. p. 475.

Aquitaniae] formed into a separate province by Augustus.

- 12 *splendidae dignitatis*] descriptive genitive qualifying *provinciae*.

administratione...spe] ablatives expressing that which made this
 appointment one of special distinction.

- 14 *secura*] 'irresponsible,' it has nothing to fear from advocates, juries,
 or appeals.

- 15 *et*] couples *obtusior ac plura* &c. to *secura*.

obtusior] 'rough and ready,' lit. 'somewhat blunt,' i.e., taking a
 common-sense view of a case without regard to legal refinements.

manu &c.] 'mostly summary in its processes,' lit. 'doing more things
 by power of hand (than by any other way).' *manus* has its legal sense
 of 'power,' as in the phrase *in patris manu*, so that the phrase seems to
 imply the summary jurisdiction of an irresponsible magistrate.

calliditatem] can hardly have, as it generally has, a bad sense here,
 because Tacitus is putting the case of the civilian against the soldier
 to the disadvantage of the latter; 'lawyer-like wariness.'

exerceat] 'gives no practice to,' 'does not develop.'

- 16 *prudentia*] 'sagacity.'

quamvis] 'albeit,' lit. 'however much,' not simply 'although,' as
 frequently in later writers. T. means that Agricola was capable of
 administering justice in any court, be it as civil as you like.

facile] 'with ease,' 'expeditiously.'

- 17 *iam vero*] 'but more than that.' In Cicero *iam vero* introduces a
 fresh and important point in an argument; so here and elsewhere (e.g.
 c. 21) T. uses it to introduce a fresh matter connected with what
 precedes, which he wishes to emphasize.

- 18 *ubi...poscerent*] the subjunctive of repeated action in past time is
 not unfrequent in Livy, as also in the *Annals* and *Histories* of Tacitus,
 but is not found except here in his shorter works.

conventus] 'circuit-days.' *conventus* is used of the days on which
 circuit-business was transacted, as well as of the circuits (the districts
 into which the province was divided for the administration of provincial
 business by the governor) themselves.

ac iudicia] this is not hendiadys, because other business besides
 judicial would be transacted in the circuits.

- 19 *et*] 'and yet,' *saepius*, sc. *quam in viro severo exspectes*, 'not seldom.'

- 20 *persona* &c.] 'he laid aside at once the character of the official.'
tristitiam &c.] 'as for moroseness, haughtiness, and rapacity, he was entirely free from them'; *avaritia* (as Ch. and B. remark) is probably used here in a public sense of unduly severe exaction of public dues, as Galba is said to have been *publicae pecuniae avarus*.
exuerat] cf. *Ann.* VI. 25 *Agrippina...feminarum vitia exuerat*; as the faults mentioned were natural to men in official positions, an official to be free from them must have thrown them off.
- 24 *virtutum*] probably, 'his virtues,' but it may mean the two virtues themselves.
- 25 *per artem*] 'by intrigue.' On the means of gaining unearned reputation in a province see *Ann.* XV. 21. 2, 22. 1.
- 26 *collegas*] the governors of neighbouring provinces.
- 27 *procuratores*] c. 4; the plural is peculiar, for Agricola would only have to do with one; T. is probably thinking of these fiscal officers as a class rather than of the particular one in A.'s province.
atteri] a milder way of putting *vinci*, 'to suffer detriment,' or 'discomfiture'; for the use of the word cf. *Sall. Cat.* c. 16 *ubi eorum famam atque pudorem attriverat*.
sordidum] 'ignominious.'
- 29 *statim*] qualifies *spem* rather than *revocatus*, 'to the immediate prospect of a consulship,' cf. *Germ.* c. 8, l. 15.
- 30 *nullis* &c.] = *non ullis*, abl. of cause, 'not by reason of any talk on his part to this effect,' 'not that he ever threw out hints in that direction.'
- 32 *elegit*] the perfect used like the gnomic aorist in Greek, 'it has sometimes (before now).'
- p. 7. 2 *sacerdotio*] 'the sacred office.' The office at this time was dignified but powerless, the emperor being *pontifex maximus* for life.

CHAPTER X.

- 5 *scriptoribus*] dative, cf. c. 2, l. 1.
- 6 *in*] cf. c. 5, l. 1.
curae] 'accuracy,' *ingenii*, 'ability,' the first implies labour in procuring materials, the latter skill in using them.
- 7 *nondum comperta*] 'with incomplete information.'
- 8 *percoluere*] is not used elsewhere in this sense of 'to embellish' or 'adorn'; it generally means, 'to honour highly.'

rerum fide] 'with historical truth.' *fides* is used objectively, 'with a credibility based on facts.'

- 10 *spatio ac caelo*] abl. of respect, 'in point of extent and geographical position'; 'sky' here=the portion of the sky to which the land corresponds.

Hispaniae] this error as to the relative positions of Britain and Spain is found in Caesar also, *B. G.* v. 13.

- 11 *etiam inspicitur*] 'is actually visible.'

- 12 *nullis contra terris*] circumstantial ablative, *contra* is really equal to a predicate *obiacentibus*; cf. Caesar, *B. G.* v. 14. 6.

- 13 *Livius*] in his 105th book.

- 14 *Fabius Rusticus*] a friend of Seneca, mentioned by Tacitus also in *Ann.* XIV. 2, XV. 61, apparently wrote a history of the Empire under Claudius and Nero.

eloquentissimi] 'the greatest masters of style.'

- 15 *scutulae*] a dish, the shape of which is unknown, but which from the use of it in this illustration must be supposed to have been more or less triangular.

bipenni] the axe-head only can be meant.

et] = *etenim* or *et profecto*, as frequently in Livy, esp. when followed immediately by a part of *sum*, e.g. XXVII. 15. 7 *et erat liberum mare*, IX. 6. 12, &c.

- 17 *extremo litore*] that is apparently of Britain proper, below Caledonia, where the Friths of Clyde and Forth (Clota and Bodotria) almost divide the land.

- 20 *adfirmavit*] 'established the fact.'

incognitas...invenit] these islands are mentioned by Pomponius Mela, who wrote his work in the reign of Caligula or of Claudius. Either we must suppose that Tacitus has made a mistake or that these words are to be taken only to mean that true and accurate information was gained at this time about the Orkneys.

- 21 *dispecta*] 'sighted (but only sighted) because, &c.'

- 22 *hactenus iussum*] very condensed expression, 'their commission ended here'; for the use of *hactenus* 'so far and no farther' cf. Verg. *Aen.* VI. 62 *hac Troiana tenus fuerit fortuna secuta*. Tac. *Ann.* XII. 42 *hactenus Vitellius voluerat*.

What is meant by Thule is unknown. If any land was sighted it would probably be Mainland, the largest of the Shetlands.

- 24 *perinde*] cf. *Germ.* c. 5, l. 25.

rariores] sc. *sunt*.

- 25 *causa*] the same notion seems to be expressed *Ann.* II. 24.
moles] the idea seems to be that the weight of an unbroken expanse of sea makes it less sensitive to the action of the wind.
- 26 *neque...ac*] for the more usual *neque...et*, 'not only not...but,' is rare even in late writers, cf. Suet. *Vespas.* c. 12.
- 28 *fluminum*] Draeger who reads *fluctuum* understands these of the bays or inlets running in and out (*huc illuc*) with the ebb and flow of the sea; but in that case *nec litore* &c. would be a rather meaningless repetition; it seems better therefore to understand *fluminum* to mean 'currents.' *multum* is the accus. after *ferre*, to which *mare* is the subject, as it is to the following verbs.
- 30 *ambire*] 'winds in and out.'

CHAPTER XI.

- p. 8. 1 *ceterum*] 'now,' the simplest meaning of the adverb used in continuing a narrative, cf. Livy IX. 33. 3.
- 2 *ut inter*] 'as (is to be expected) among barbarians,' cf. *Germ.* c. 2.
- 3 *rutilae...magni*] cf. *Germ.* c. 4.
- 4 *habitantium*] cf. c. 4, l. 13.
- 5 *adseverant*] in classical writers used only of persons.
Silurum] inhabited Monmouthshire and the E. part of S. Wales.
torti] crisp and curly, what Martial (a Spaniard) calls 'contumacious' hair.
- 6 *posita* &c.] 'the fact that Spain lies opposite,' on this use of the participle see Livy VI. (Pitt Press Series) Appendix.
- 8 *et*] 'are like them as well' (as near to them).
durante] this sense of *duro* 'to last' begins in prose with Livy.
vi] influence.
- 9 *in diversa*] two countries protruding in opposite directions would so far tend to approximate, and so, occupying nearly the same geographical position, the inhabitants would tend to assimilate.
positio caeli] sky-position=*caelum*, c. 10, l. 10.
dedit] 'has determined.'
- 10 *aestimanti*] on this dative, see *Germ.* c. 6.
- 11 *superstitionum persuasiones*] lit. 'persuadings to themselves of superstitious beliefs,'='superstitious persuasions.' *superstitio* to a Roman meant any foreign religious belief, except Greek.
- 14 *formido*] cf. Caesar *B. G.* III. 19.
- 17 *olim*] 'in former years,' qualifies *victis*, and probably refers to the

time of Claudius. But we really have no means of judging precisely what Tacitus means by this and the following sentences. He is apparently speaking of the time at which he is writing, and of the state of Britain during the reigns of Nerva and Trajan we know nothing. If T. is to be taken at his word, it would seem as if the conquest of the province was still going on, unless by *ceteri* he means the North Britons only. But in that case *olim* seems rather meaningless.

CHAPTER XII.

- 19 *curru*] in c. 35 these chariot-fighters are called *covinnarii*, in Caesar *essedarii*. T. is indistinct here. It is not clear from his account whether the Britons had cavalry proper as well as chariot-fighters. From Caesar *B. G.* IV. 24, it would seem that in his time they had both.
- 20 *honestior*] here again T. is indistinct. It is a question whether he means simply that the chariot-fighter held a higher rank than the foot soldier, or that the driver ranked above the fighters in the chariot itself. The latter seems unlikely, and is out of keeping with what Caesar says *B. G.* IV. 24, so that probably he means the former.
- propugnant*] will mean 'fight forth,' i.e., 'fight from the chariots,' or 'fight in front of the chariot on foot,' according to the sense we attach to *honestior auriga*.
- 21 *per principes* &c.] 'they are divided by factions and rivalries due to the action of different chiefs.'
- 22 *pro nobis utilius*] 'more useful on our behalf' = 'more advantageous to our interests,' a redundant expression, without parallel, though *Hist.* I. 5 *vox pro republica honesta* is something like it. *pro* is perhaps inserted to balance *adversus*.
- 23 *in commune*] cf. *Ann.* II. 54 *nec ultra in commune congressi, sibi quisque consulere*.
- 24 *conventus*] abstract, 'combination.'
- 26 *foedum*] cf. *Hist.* I. 18 *foedum imbribus diem* and our expression, 'dirty weather.'
- frigorum*] 'frosts,' cf. Caesar *B. G.* V. 12 *loca sunt temperatiora quam in Gallia remissioribus frigoribus*.
- 27 *dierum*] Tacitus states as a general fact what is true of course only of the summer, the longest day in Rome lasting 15 hours, in Scotland 18 (Pliny *N. H.* II. 186), and he explains the supposed fact by the idea, derived probably from Pliny (*N. H.* II. 47 and 181), that night is the

effect of the shadow cast by the higher parts of the earth intervening between the sun and the land.

nostri orbis] condensed comparison = *nostri orbis dierum*, cf. *Germ.*

c. 46 *quae omnia diversa Sarmatis*.

- 31 *transire*] cf. *Germ.* c. 45, l. 21; according to this idea, the sun was supposed not to actually sink into the Ocean but to pass round from west to east, being visible at the western extremity of the circle until some of the higher parts of the earth intervened, which according to T. did not occur till it was almost ready to rise again. This *appears* to be his meaning, if he really means anything.

scilicet] 'clearly the level extremities of the earth throwing only short shadows do not raise the darkness to any height, and so night falls short of the sky and stars,' an explanation perhaps best left alone by modern commentators.

extrema] substantived neut. pl. of the adj., a use common in Livy.

- 32 *umbra*] abl. of circumstance, or cause.

que] epexegetic, cf. Livy II. 43. 4 *nec in eum consules acrius quam ipsius collegae coorti sunt auxilioque eorum dilectum consules habent*.

caelum &c.] explain the effect of *non erigunt tenebras*.

- p. 9. 1 *patiens*] cf. *Germ.* c. 5, l. 19.

5 *margarita*] *margaritum* is a rarer form of *margarita*; it is used here both for the pearl and the oyster.

- 8 *naturam*] 'quality'; the meaning of the sentence is, that it was more likely that the pearls were inferior than that the Romans should be so indifferent to gain as not to employ the best method of catching them.

CHAPTER XIII.

- 13 *ipsi*] *avrol*, the people as opposed to the land.

iniuncta...imperii munera] 'the imperial services imposed on them'; *imperii* is a descriptive genitive, 'the services connected with imperial government'; the more usual form of expression would be *ab imperantibus iniuncta*.

- 14 *obeunt*] zeugma, other verbs must be supplied to govern *dilectum* and *tributa*.

- 15 *igitur*] the resumptive use of the word, found frequently in Cicero. The description of Britain has been of the nature of a digression, and T. now goes on to what is more immediately connected with his main subject by giving an account of the operations in Britain which led up to

the state of things which Agricola found there, cf. c. 18 *hunc Britanniae statum* &c.

- 19 *bella*] sc. *secuta sunt*. *versa* sc. *sunt*.
 21 *praeceptum*] sc. *Augusti*.
 22 *agitasse, ni*] cf. c. 4, l. 19.
 23 *velox* &c.] if the reading is right, *paenitentiae* should probably be construed with *velox*, and *mobili ingenio* taken as ablative of cause. *paenitentiae* in that case is an instance of the Graecising extension of the objective genitive, by which the genitive came to express the area within which the quality expressed by the adjective is limited, a usage frequent in the Augustan poets, and in prose writers from Livy onwards, especially so in Tacitus. *fuisse* must be supplied from *fuisse*.
 25 *iterati operis*] ‘the renewal of the work,’ of conquering Britain.
auxiliis] the regular word for foreign auxiliary troops from the end of the Social War.
 26 *rerum*] applies of course only to the war in Britain.
 27 *fortunae*] sc. *Vespasiani*, probably means his elevation to the imperial throne. Some take it to mean the success of the Roman arms in Britain under Vespasian, that his success at this time led him to continue the conquest of the island when he became emperor.
 28 *fatis*] it is a question whether this is dative or ablative, but it seems difficult to attach any clear meaning to ‘exhibited to destiny.’ Probably what T. means is that the future emperor was now pointed out by the fates to the Roman world, his conduct in Britain showed him fit for empire.

CHAPTER XIV.

- 29 *Consularium*] sc. *legatorum*, cf. c. 7, l. 22, a province of Britain was now formed for the first time.
 31 *proxima*] i.e. nearest to the coast.
 32 *colonia*] at Camelodunum.
 p. 10. 2 *recepta*] exactly corresponds to our word ‘received’ in this connexion; the ablative is circumstantial = ‘in accordance with.’
 3 *et*] ‘also.’
 4 *continuit*] ‘kept together,’ ‘retained possession of,’ cf. *Ann.* XIV. 29 *in Britannia neque A. Didius nisi parta retinuerat*.
 5 *promotis*] ‘pushed forward,’ i.e. ‘planted in advanced positions.’
 6 *aucti officii*] ‘of having done more than his bare duty,’ so *intendere officium*, Sall. *Jug.* 75.

- 8 *firmitatis* &c.] 'planting strong garrisons.' *firmare aliquid* is not only 'to strengthen something,' but also 'to produce a strong something,' cf. c. 35 *mediam aciem firmare* 'make a solid centre.' The object is proleptic as in such phrases as *pontem, foedus* &c. *iungere*.
- 10 *terga occasionei patefecit*] 'he laid open his back to opportunity,' = 'he exposed himself to attack in his rear.' *patefacere terga* is a Tacitean combination as also *praebere, praestare terga* but possibly borrowed from military language. *occasionei* is condensed for *hostibus occasionem quaerentibus*.

CHAPTER XV.

- 15 *interpretando*] 'by suggesting motives.'
- 16 *accendere*] sc. *iniurias*, 'to aggravate them,' cf. *Ann.* I. 69 *accendebat haec onerabatque Seianus*.
- tamquam*] the use of *tamquam* with participles begins with Livy.
- 17 *ex facili*] the use of *e, ex* and the ablative of a subst. or substantival neut. adj. or participle to form a modal adverb is found in Cicero, and frequently in Livy, e.g. *ex ambiguo dicta* (Cicero), *ex vano* (Livy). The particular expression *ex facili* is only found in prose in Tacitus and in him only here and *Hist.* III. 49.
- 18 *legatus...procurator*] cf. c. 7, l. 22.
- 20 *alterius*] the *legatus*.
- 21 *vim et contumelias miscere*] 'mingle violence and insults,' = 'add insults to injuries.'
- 22 *exceptum*] 'exempted from,' the dative is the dative of person or thing suffering loss, regularly used after *adimo*, and occasionally especially by the Augustan poets after other verbs which would more regularly require a preposition with the ablative, such as *eripio, aufero, extorqueo* &c.
- 24 *domos*] cf. *Ann.* XIV. 31.
- 25 *tantum*] qualifies *patria*, 'as if their fatherland was the only thing they knew not how to die for.'
- 26 *sic*] i.e. by combining, which is implied in the previous sentence.
- 27 *Germanias*] rhetorical plural. The allusion is probably to the defeat of Varus, which only affected part of the lower province.
- et*] a strong use of *et* = *et tamen*, cf. c. 9, l. 19, 'and they were only defended, &c.'
- 28 *illis*] the Romans.
- 30 *modo*] 'if only.'

31 *unius aut alterius*] 'one or two,' so, *unus et alter*.

32 *impetus*] 'dash,' French, *élan*.

integris] see notes on text.

p. 11. 1 *iam*] 'the gods were beginning to show pity now.'

2 *relegatum*] rhetorical, the speaker describes the Roman army as if it were banished and could not come back, to encourage his hearers.

3 *iam ipsos*] they had got so far as to be able to take counsel by themselves, without the Romans overlooking them.

quod] 'a thing which.'

porro] an additional argument. They had taken the opportunity of the absence of the Romans to deliberate about rebellion, and having done so, they would find it safer to carry out their plan, than to be caught plotting.

CHAPTER XVI.

6 *Boudicca*] cf. *Ann.* XIV. 37. This seems to be the best supported spelling of the name.

8 *sumpsere bellum*] *sumere bellum*, a phrase formed on the analogy of *sumere arma*, is used by Sallust and Livy.

9 *coloniam*] Camelodunum.

10 *in barbaris*] qualify and enhance the meaning of *genus saevitiae*, 'practised among, known to barbarians.'

11 *ira et victoria*] 'wrath and victory combined': not hendiadys; the two ideas are kept distinct; not simply 'the wrath of victorious enemies,' or 'victorious wrath,' is meant, but, 'wrath (long nursed) now combined with victory.'

quod] merely copulative as in *quod si*.

12 *quam*] adversative use of the relative, 'but the fortune, &c.'

13 *tenentibus*] concessive, 'though many retained their arms.'

14 *proprius*] 'personal.'

15 *cetera*] accusative of extent limiting *egregius*, 'generally excellent.'

16 *ultor*] participial use of the subst., in Cicero pretty nearly confined to nouns in *tor* and *trix*, but in Livy employed with any noun; 'avenging every injury as his own,' i.e. 'as done to him.'

17 *igitur*] refers to *tenentibus*, &c. It was felt that another less prejudiced governor would be better suited to bring the rebellion to an end. Tacitus probably has here in his mind what he states *Ann.* XIV. 38 about the recall of Suetonius.

tamquam] here introduces the real (not the apparent or pretended)

ground of the mission of Turpilianus; a late use of the word. Compare the use after *suspicio* and similar verbs, Juv. III. 222 *suspectus tamquam ipse suas incenderit aedes*.

- 19 *prioribus*] abl. of *priora*, 'the previous disturbances.' Livy uses freely the neut. pl. of adjectives as substantives in other cases than the nom. and accus., his only limit being intelligibility, cf. Livy, IX. 6. 4. Cicero does so occasionally.
- 20 *nullis experimentis*] ablative of circumstance, practically equivalent to an adjective, 'inexperienced'; the plural *experimenta*=the abstract *experientia*.
- 21 *curandi*] 'administration,' *provinciam* serves ἀπὸ κοινοῦ as object to both verbs, though *Ann.* XI. 22 T. following the example of Sallust uses *curo* absolutely. Elsewhere he has an accusative after it.
- 22 *quoque*] as well as Romans.
- 23 *vitiis blandientibus* (dative case), by personification=*vitiis blandientium*, 'humouring vices,' being the vices of the *legatus* who humoured them.
- 24 *discordia*] 'insubordination,' cf. *Ann.* I. 38, III. 40.
- 26 *latebris*] the plural expresses the changes from one hiding-place to another; *fuga ac latebris* are ablatives of means qualifying *vitata ira*, *vitata ira*, abl. of cause explaining *indecorus* and *humilis*, 'forfeiting all respect and dignity by running away and hiding himself to avoid, &c.'
- 27 *precario*, 'on sufferance' (Ch. and B.).
velut &c.] 'and by a tacit understanding, by which the army secured license and the general protection, the mutiny was brought to an end without bloodshed,' lit. 'as if they had bargained, the army for license, &c.'
- velut*] = *velut si*.
- 28 *esset*] see notes on text. *stetit*, lit. 'stood still,' 'stopped.' Cf. *Ann.* XII. 22 *unde vis Agrippinae citra ultima stetit*.
- 30 *disciplina*] abl. 'did not enforce discipline to disturb Britain,' a very condensed expression. T. means apparently that Vettius did not undertake any operations which would have necessitated the enforcement of discipline.
- 31 *petulantia*] 'insubordination.'
nisi quod] 'the only difference being,' cf. c. 6, l. 19.
innocens] is specially associated with absence of rapacity.

CHAPTER XVII.

p. 12. 5. *reciperavit*] the word seems to be suggested by the distracted condition of the Roman empire when Vespasian not simply received but 'reclaimed' it from the usurpers who were doing their best to destroy it.

magni] sc. *fuerunt*, cf. c. 13, l. 20.

minuta] an instance of T.'s fondness (shared with Livy) for uncompounded verbs. *minutus* is hardly ever used by other writers except as an adjective.

6 *Brigantium*] occupied the N. and W. ridings of Yorkshire.

9 *aut victoria...aut bello*] 'he brought within reach of (lit. encircled with) conquest or war' = 'he either conquered or harassed with war.'

10 *alterius*] any other than Frontinus.

curam &c.] 'C. would have overwhelmed the work and reputation of any other successor' = any other man succeeding Cerialis would have found his work and reputation thrown absolutely into the shade.

11 *Frontinus*] consul in A.D. 74, was the author of two extant treatises on the aqueducts of Rome and on military tactics.

12 *quantum licebat*] these words must apparently qualify *vir magnus*, and Tacitus probably means that it was difficult to be great among so many great men, cf. *magni duces* above. The words can hardly be intended for a sneer at imperial jealousy, for Vespasian was emperor at the time.

13 *super*] 'in addition to,' the meaning begins with Livy.

14 *eluctatus*] 'struggling successfully against,' with an accusative *κατὰ σθένος*, as *evado*. Cf. Livy, XXIV. 29, Tac. *Hist.* III. 59.

CHAPTER XVIII.

17 *vices*] 'turn' or 'succession.' 'Such was the state of Britain that Agricola crossing &c. found, such the wars to (the conduct of) which he succeeded.'

18 *velut* &c.] 'considering active operations (for the year) to be at an end,' *expeditio* is abstract and general, not a particular expedition.

19 *ad securitatem* &c.] 'were inclined to be careless, the enemy to seek opportunity for attack.' For the phrase cf. *Ann.* XIV. 38 *omni aetate ad bellum versa*.

20 *Ordovicum*] inhabited W. Shropshire and N. Wales.

- 21 *agentem*] 'serving,' a military use of the word found in Sallust and Livy.
- 22 *obtriverat*] = *deleverat*, the use begins with Livy.
erecta] = *commota*, not found in this bare use till Tacitus; it is generally used with *animus* or *spes* or a similar word as subject, or, if the subject is personal, with the addition of *in*, *ad spem*, *spe* or the like.
- 23 *volentibus*] a Graecism found also in Sallust and Livy.
probare...opperiri] hist. infin. 'those who inclined to war, approved the example (set by the Ordovices) and were only waiting to ascertain the temper of the new *legatus* when Agricola &c.'
- 24 *transvecta*] found in this sense only here and *Hist.* II. 76.
- 25 *numeri*] a post-Augustan use of the word signifying any division of the legion or the cavalry, maniples, cohort, or *turma*.
praesumpta &c.] 'the assumption of the soldiers that campaigning was over for the year,' lit. 'repose for that year anticipated in the minds of the soldiers.'
- 26 *tarda*] sc. *erant*. *tarda* is active in sense, as in *tarda podagra* &c. This active sense is really due to hypallage by which an effect produced is described as a quality of the thing producing it; cf. *caeco igni* Verg. *Aen.* IV. 2.
- 27 *suspecta*] 'suspected parts'; i.e. tribes suspected of intention to revolt.
potius] by preference, that is, rather than beginning a campaign.
videbatur] pregnant use 'it seemed good,' 'it was the opinion.'
- 28 *vexillis*] *vexillarii* and *vexilla* (= *vexillarii*) in Tacitus seem to be used either (1) in a general sense of any body of soldiers serving under a *vexillum* apart from a legion, whether belonging to the legion or not; or (2) in a special sense of veterans who according to a regulation of Tiberius after 16 years' service were discharged from the ranks of the legion, but were retained for 4 years under a *vexillum*, accompanying the legion in which they were formerly enrolled. The word has the first signification here and is equivalent to the scattered *numeri* mentioned above.
- 30 *quo*] in final sense without comparative occurs in Plautus, Terence and Sallust.
- 31 *erexit*] 'led up the hill,' cf. Livy II. 31. 5.
- 32 *instandum famae*] i.e. make immediate use of the prestige he had gained.
prout &c.] 'and that it would depend on the issue of his first movements, how far the other tribes would be intimidated.'

- p. 13. 3 *ut* &c.] 'naturally, considering the suddenness of his decision'; this is really short for, 'as is to be expected in sudden determinations, something was wanting, in this case, ships.' See notes on text.
- 4 *ratio*] 'generalship,' *constantia* 'determination.'
- 5 *auxiliarium*] probably, British.
- 9 *invictum*] 'invincible,' the regular meaning of the word, but by other writers only applied to persons.
- 12 *officiorum ambitum*] 'courting popular attentions,' *officia* is used in the society sense of the word, according to which *officium* was a regular daily round of social duties performed, esp. by inferiors to superiors, as by clients to patrons.
- 14 *vanitatem*] the later use of the word in which it comes very near to our 'vanity' or 'vainglory,' cf. Livy IX. 18. 4. Livy IV. 41. 1 *oratio non suis vana laudibus* shows the adjective on its way from the original sense of emptiness to this sense of moral emptiness, and conceit.
- 15 *vocabat* &c.] 'did not call the mere fact of keeping conquered people in hand, campaigning or conquest.'
laureatis sc. *litteris*; despatches announcing victory were wreathed with laurels.
- 16 *prosecutus est*] 'honoured,' from the meaning of attending or escorting any one as a mark of honour *prosequor* gradually came to be used with the sense of 'honouring' predominant, that of 'escorting' only faintly perceptible. Here, for example, we may suppose, there is an idea of the *gesta* travelling to Rome with the accompaniment of laurels; cf. Livy IX. 8. 13.
- 17 *spe*] abl. equivalent to a participle, a use first employed in prose by Livy, cf. VI. 21. 7 *metu ne = metuentes ne*.

CHAPTER XIX.

- 22 *prudens*] with the genitive, of special insight or knowledge, is quite a classical use.
- 23 *per aliena experimenta*] by the result of other men's experience, cf. c. 16, l. 21.
- 25 *domum*] includes his staff and subordinates of all kinds.
- 26 *nihil*] sc. *agere*, an ellipse found in classical writers, cf. Cic. *Philipp.* I. 2. 4 *nihil per senatum*.
- 27 *libertos servosque*] a provincial governor took with him to his province, (1) a staff of superior officials, including the *quaestor*, *legate*, and others who assisted him in the administration of the province. This

body was variously named *cohors*, *cohors praetoria*, *comites*, *contubernales* and included some youths of high position, who had the advantage of serving under the immediate supervision of the general, cf. c. 5, l. 28. (2) *Apparitores* a body of subordinate officials, attached to the *cohors*, consisting of *scribae*, *lictores*, *accensi*, *nomenclatores*, *viatores*, *tabellarii*, *praecones*, *pullarii*, *victimarii*, *haruspices*, *medici*, *interpretes*, *architecti*. (3) A number of freedmen and slaves, his own private attendants and servants.

studiis privatis] 'personal feeling,' namely, his own.

28 *militēs*] men chosen out of the ranks to serve among the *apparitores*.
ascire] frequent in Tacitus, but elsewhere found only in Vergil; the usual verb is *ascisco*.

29 *omnia*] i.e. all offences.

30 *exsequi*] generally explained as = *punire* or *ulcisci*, a sense of the unqualified verb not found elsewhere in Tacitus. It seems rather to have its ordinary meaning of 'following out,' 'taking up' in a judicial way, so 'prosecuting.' He knew of everything, but did not always take official notice of what he knew.

31 *commodare*] 'to adapt pardon &c.' = 'to pardon small offences and inflict proportionately severe punishment on great ones.'

32 *contentus*] zeugma, he did not always require &c....but was more often content &c.

p. 14. 2 *frumentī*] probably means the *frumentum in cellam*, the corn supplied for the maintenance of the governor and his retinue.

tributorum] see on *Germ.* c. 29, l. 7.

aequalitate munerum] 'by equalizing the burdens.' *munerum* is used in a general sense, including the burdens just mentioned: what Agricola seems to have done was to commute the corn payments for money payments in districts where corn was scarce. Previously, as it seems, the provincials had been compelled to buy corn from the Romans to satisfy their demands. This purchasing was a farce. They attended at the granaries requesting to be allowed to purchase corn. But the granaries were never opened. For the corn was wanted only to be paid back to the Romans, and so they played at buying and selling (*ludere pretio*), buying unnecessarily (*ultro*), and, as is implied, at a fancy price.

3 *circumcisīs*] 'pruned away,' an horticultural metaphor used by Cicero.

4 *namque* &c.] 'they were compelled to go through the farce of attending at granaries which were never opened to buy corn they did not want, and play at paying a price for it.'

adsidere] cf. Seneca *Ep.* 4 *ut famem sitimque depellas non est necesse superbis adsidere liminibus.*

- 5 *ultra*] i.e. to do a thing they would naturally be expected not to do, 'actually' to buy corn when they did not want it, cf. Livy I. 5 *ultra accusantes* of the brigands who 'actually' accused Romulus and Remus.

ludere pretio] they played with the price, inasmuch as what they paid ostensibly as the price of the corn was really payment in lieu of corn. Tacitus may possibly mean to imply as well in *ludere* that the price was a playful or fancy one, but this is sufficiently implied in the whole passage. It would be hardly necessary to say that the governors who practised this trick would charge exorbitantly for the corn supplied.

- 6 *devortia*] another mode of extortion: the provincials who could supply corn were needlessly required to convey it long distances to out of the way districts. To avoid this, they would of course prefer to pay blackmail to the governor.

devortia itinerum longinquitas regionum] 'out of the way routes and districts miles away,' cf. *Germ.* c. 1, l. 5.

- 8 *quod &c.*] 'what was ready at hand to all (i.e. what was on the spot and could have been furnished directly without trouble or expense) was made a means of gain to a few.'

CHAPTER XX.

- 11 *circumdedidit*] a frequent metaphor with Tacitus, perhaps an imitation of περιβάλλειν, 'he invested peace with an excellent name.'

intolerantia] 'arrogance,' lit. 'insufferableness'; the word is always passive in classical Latin, and apparently so here.

- 13 *multus in*] This idiom, probably borrowed from Greek, begins in prose with Sallust; 'was constantly to be seen marching with the troops.'

- 15 *praetemptare*] a poetic and late prose word.

- 16 *quo minus*] here introduces a negative modal subordinate sentence, which would regularly require *quin*, but Tacitus constantly uses *quo minus* for *quin* and *vice versa*.

- 17 *parcendo*] 'by forbearance.'

- 19 *ex aequo egerant*] 'had dealt with us on equal terms,' i.e. had been independent, cf. *Hist.* IV. 64 *aut ex aequo agetis, aut aliis imperabitis.*

- o *ratione*] 'diplomacy,' 'tact.'

- 21 *pariter illaccessita*] 'so quietly,' lit. 'so unprovoked,' i.e. unaccompanied by actions calculated to excite ill-feeling on the part of the annexed people.

transierit] sc. *ad Romanos*, 'passed over,' 'was annexed.' Livy uses the word absolutely, but of desertion from one side to another.

CHAPTER XXI.

- 24 *in bella*] adapted to the sense of *proni* implied in *faciles*, so *Ann.* XIV. 4 *ad gaudia faciles*, Ovid *nimum faciles ad fera bella manus*.

- 25 *privatim*] 'unofficially.'

- 26 *publice*] 'with state aid.'

laudando] the modal use of the gerund, in which it is really equivalent to a present participle; frequent in Livy, but rare before him.

- 27 *castigando*] of verbal chastisement, 'reprimanding,' so 'chastise' is used in the North of England.

ita &c.] 'thus the emulous desire for distinction answered the purpose of compulsion,' i.e. Agricola excited sufficient desire for his approval in the minds of the provincials to obviate the necessity for actual compulsion.

- 28 *iam vero*] cf. c. 9, l. 17.

- 29 *erudire*] (sc. *Agricola*) = *erudiendos curare*.

ingenia &c.] 'expressed preference for British wits over Gallic study,' i.e. he flattered and encouraged the British by telling them that they could do by natural ability what required plodding industry in the Gauls, and could do it better.

- 32 *delenimenta vitiorum*] the charms of vicious luxuries.

- 33 *elegantiam*] cf. *Germ.* c. 1, l. 5.

- p. 15. 1 *humanitas*] 'culture.'

CHAPTER XXII.

- 6 *annus aperuit*] the personification of *annus* occurs in Cicero and Livy, and is frequent in Tacitus.

- 7 *Tanaum*] this estuary cannot be identified. The Tay (*Taus* is a reading here found in the margin of a MS.) is out of the question. The mouth of the Tyne has been suggested, but it could hardly be called an estuary.

- 8 *qua formidine*] = *quarum (vastationum) formidine* according to the

idiom so frequent in Livy, by which a pronoun agreeing with a subst. is used instead of a case or prepositional phrase after the subst. e.g. *haec ira = ira ob hanc rem*.

quamquam] cf. c. 1, l. 8.

10 *adnotabant*] a post-Augustan word.

11 *opportunitates...moras* (l. 13)] cf. *Germ.* c. 1, l. 5.

nullum &c.] is best taken as an independent statement not depending on *adnotabant*.

14 *intrepida*] applied to things is a poetical usage. *erat* or *erant* must be supplied to both adjectives and to *praesidio*.

15 *crebrae eruptiones*] see notes on text.

quisque] each commander of a fort. The meaning seems to be that as each fort was amply provided with the means of self-defence, the Romans were able not only to act on the defensive, but to make frequent sorties against the enemy. Thus the winter was not merely free from alarms from the enemy, but was actually used to distress and weaken them.

irritis] this ablative absolute is in T.'s manner, and carries the main statement, for what he means is that since each Roman commander could defend himself, the enemy were constantly baffled and consequently reduced to despair, because whereas usually they repaired the losses of the summer by successes in the winter &c.

16 *eoque*] cf. *Germ.* c. 6, l. 20.

17 *eventibus*] as the context implies, successful results.

pensare] for *compensare* is post-Augustan.

iuxta] = *pariter*, so used by Sallust and Livy.

18 *per alios*] qualifies *gesta*.

19 *praefectus*] the title of the commander of a cohort of auxiliaries.

21 *et*] cf. c. 10, l. 15.

22 *ceterum*] in its common adversative sense.

secretum] 'his passion left no grudge in reserve,' just the opposite of Tiberius, *Ann.* I. 69. 3, VI. 50.

CHAPTER XXIII.

25 *obtinendis*] 'securing,' the proper classical sense of *obtinere*, which is to hold against opposition. It is in the dative case after *insumpta*, cf. *Ann.* III. 1.

26 *ac si* &c.] i.e. if any bounds could be set to Roman adventure; *inventus*, sc. *erat*, cf. c. 4, l. 19.

- 27 *Clota...Bodotria*] the Friths of Clyde and Forth.
 28 *diversi maris*] of the sea working in opposite directions, i.e. of two opposite seas. T. represents these estuaries as formed by tides carrying the sea out of its natural course inland.
per inmensum] 'over an enormous extent' = to an immense distance.
 30 *propior*] sc. *Romanis*.
sinus] of a winding stretch of coast, cf. *Germ.* c. 37, *Livy* xxv. 5.

CHAPTER XXIV.

- p. 16. 1 *nave prima*] taken in connexion with *ignotas* immediately after seems certainly to mean in the first Roman ship that ever crossed the Frith. The singular number, of Agricola's ship, instead of the plural, of the whole fleet, is used for dramatic effect. To understand it of Agricola leading the fleet in the first ship that sailed that spring seems less natural.
 2 *gentis*] of Caledonia.
 4 *aspicit*] cf. *Germ.* c. 5.
in spem] condensed expression = *spe utilitatis inde proventurae*, 'with hopes ahead.'
 5 *medio*] = *in medio*, as frequently in Tacitus.
Hispaniam] cf. c. 19.
 6 *valentissimam imperii partem*] short for 'the countries which form the strongest &c.' The singular (which is strictly illogical, for one thing cannot be mingled) expresses the fact that these countries formed one portion of the empire. Spain and Gaul apparently are meant, cf. *Hist.* III. 53 *Gallias Hispaniasque validissimam terrarum partem*.
 7 *miscuerit*] conditional, with possible protasis omitted, 'might (lit. would, if it were subdued) form a link'; the perfect may express a completed state as the result of the hypothesis, but Tacitus tends to the use of the perfect subjunctive instead of the present, cf. *ut ita dixerim* instead of *ut ita dicam*.
 9 *insulas...Britannia* (l. 10)] condensed comparison, cf. c. 12, l. 27.
cultus] 'modes of life.'
 13 *in occasionem*] 'biding his time,' lit. 'with a view to an opportunity.'
 16 *arma*] sc. *essent*. Tacitus omits the subjunctive of *sum* not unfrequently, especially if a subjunctive clause follows.

CHAPTER XXV.

- 21 *ceterum*] 'however to continue,' after the digression about Ireland, cf. Livy VI. 1. 4.
- 22 *amplexus*] we may supply *bello*, cf. c. 17, l. 10, or, more probably, *animo*, 'extending his designs over.'
- 23 *infesta*] passive, 'beset,' *hostibus* ablative.
- 25 *in partem*] 'to form part,' cf. c. 6, l. 26.
- 26 *bellum impelleretur*] a Tacitean combination.
- 27 *copiis*] means 'provisions' here, cf. c. 22 *annuis copiis*: 'mingled in provisions and rejoicings &c.' apparently means 'met at a common mess to exchange (or over a common table exchanged) jubilant (flourishing) accounts of their own particular deeds and dangers.'
- 28 *attollerent*] expresses the pride of the narrators in their deeds.
- 30 *hinc...hinc*] instead of *hinc...illinc* is a usage in prose first found in Livy. *hostis* sc. *victus*.
- 31 *iactantia*] late Latin for *iactatione*.
- p. 17. 1 *tamquam*] = *tamquam si*.
- 3 *ad manus*] The transition is rather abrupt, considering the preceding sentence. Tacitus returns apparently on *quia motus* &c., p. 16, l. 22, and states the result of Agricola's invasion in producing resistance. *manus* has its common meaning of violence, here equalling 'resistance.'
- 4 *maiore fama*] i.e. the accounts that reached the Romans were exaggerated; 'with large preparations, largely exaggerated, as unknown things always are.'
- 6 *addiderant*] 'by thus challenging attack greatly increased,' lit. 'as challenging had added'; the plpf. anticipates, as it were, the result of the action of the verb, the condition or state produced by it, cf. *Ann.* I. 63 *auxerant*. Another writer would probably have used the perfect here, though Sallust and Livy furnish examples of this use of the plpf.
- 7 *quam pellerentur*] *quam* with subjunctive in *oratio obliqua* instead of the infinitive is found in Plautus, *quam* and *quam ut* in Sallust and Livy, Cicero and Caesar prefer the infinitive.
- specie prudentium*] 'posing as men of experience,' an affected variant for the abstract.
- 10 *et ipse*] 'on his part'; the use of *et* = *etiam* in this combination is very common in Livy and Tacitus.

CHAPTER XXVI.

- 12 *mutato*] in reference to *pluribus agminibus* above.
- 14 *inter somnum et trepidationem*] qualify *irrupere* not *caesis vigilibus*, it was by killing the sentries that they were able to burst into the midst of the sleeping or startled soldiers.
- 16 *vestigiis*] local ablative, as in *via Appia venire, porta introire* and the like, signifying the space within which the course is limited, so the direction taken. This phrase is used by Livy as it is used here, by Cicero only with a personal object after the verb.
- 18 *et*] 'and then,' *propinqua* = *adpropinquante*.
- 19 *et*] 'also.'
- 20 *securi pro*] This combination seems to have been formed by anti-thesis to *sollicitus pro*, cf. *Hist.* IV. 58.
- ultro*] 'even.' Cf. c. 19, l. 5.
- quin etiam*] For the position of these words, cf. *Germ.* c. 3.
- 22 *pulsi*] sc. *sunt*.
- 23 *quod nisi*] Cf. c. 16, l. 10.

CHAPTER XXVII.

- 26 *cuius*] i.e. the decisive character of the victory; 'the feeling of this and the reputation won so elated the army that they loudly declared &c.'
- 29 *illi*] 'the aforementioned men lately so &c.,' not (young scholars will observe) 'those who were lately &c.'
- 31 *imputantur*] a late word, the converse of *acceptum referre*.
- 33 *quo minus*] Cf. c. 20, l. 16.
- p. 18. 2 *conspirationem*] 'union.'

CHAPTER XXVIII.

- 5 *Usiporum*] see *Germ.* c. 32.
- 7 *militibus, qui &c.*] i.e. men who were technically called *armorum* and *campi doctores*, who instructed recruits in the use of arms and the duties of military service generally.
- 9 *adactis*] 'impressing,' compare the military term *sacramento adigere*.
- 10 *renavigante*] if this reading is right it must be taken as equivalent to a perfect or aorist participle, as *Ann.* III. 16 *illo respondente* and elsewhere.
- coque*] Cf. *Germ.* c. 6, l. 20.

- 11 *ut miraculum*] qualify *praevehebantur*, 'as something wonderful' expresses the feeling about them of those who saw them. Nothing being known about their attempt, people were taken by surprise and let them sail past.
- 12 *raptum* supine.
- 14 *inopiae*] genitive after *eo*; *ad extremum* 'at last.'
- 15 *infirmisimos*] the only instance in Tacitus of *vescor* with the accusative; the usage is archaistic and poetical.
mox] *primo* is implied with the preceding words; they ate first the weaker ones, then, when they were finished, drew lots which should be killed for the purpose.
- 18 *fuere quos*] is used as a single pronoun, and consequently does not affect the mood of the verb, as in the Augustan poets and in Livy.
- 19 *nostram*] the left bank of the Rhine.
mutatione ementium] by exchange of purchasers, means that the first owners sold them to others, and so on.
- 20 *indicium*] i.e. gained distinction by telling the story of this strange adventure.

CHAPTER XXIX.

- 23 *ictus...amisit*] this throwing of the main statement into a participial clause is a Graecising structure, characteristic both of Livy and Tacitus.
- 25 *ambitiose*] 'with ostentatious equanimity.'
rursus] 'on the other hand,' the sense is found in Cicero *de Orat.* I.
24. 110.
- 29 *exploratos*] 'tested by a long period of peace,' means that their behaviour during the long period which had elapsed since their part of the country was Romanised made it certain that they could be relied upon.
- 30 *Graupium*] the modern Grampians, which spelling has some MS. authority. The spelling in the text is most probably that of Tacitus.
- p. 19. 5 *cruda*] an obvious reminiscence of Verg. *Aen.* VI. 304.
- 7 *praestans*] sc. *vir* or *dux*, cf. *Ann.* XIII. 15 *damnata (femina) veneficii nomine Locusta*.

CHAPTER XXX.

- 11 *animus*] 'confidence,' *animus est* takes the infin. after it, because of the sense of *spes est* or *confido* implied in it.
- 13 *terrae*] sc. *sunt*; the argument is, that they would fight as men at bay having nowhere to retreat to, if they were defeated.

- 14 *ita*] under such circumstances.
- 17 *spem* &c.] 'saw hope and support still left in our power,' a remarkable personification; the meaning is that in previous battles fought by other Britons, they could still hope to retrieve defeat by assistance from the Caledonians.
- 18 *eoque* &c.] 'and therefore set in the inmost chamber of the land,' the reason is not obvious.
- 19 *servientium*] means the Gauls.
- 21 *recessus ipse* &c.] 'the very remoteness of the corner which hid our fame'; this use of *sinus* is probably to be explained by the use of the word in the phrase *in sinu gestare*, lit. 'to carry in the bosom (pocket),' so to keep a thing hidden for safety, cf. Seneca *Ep.* 103 *illa (philosophia) in sinu suo te proteget*.
- 22 *atque*] strong use confirming the previous statement, 'and we know.'
- 24 *infestiores*] than the waves and rocks.
- 26 *effugeris*] the indefinite use of the second person; the use of the perfect in these phrases is common to Tacitus with the writers of the silver age, cf. c. 24, l. 7.
- 27 *si locuples* &c.] that is, they will attack any peoples, if rich, for plunder, if poor, for fame.
- 28 *quos*] causal, hence the subjunctive.

CHAPTER XXXI.

- p. 20. 2 *voluit*] 'has ordained' or 'willed,' a frequent use of *volo*, cf. Cic. *de Imp. Pomp.* v. 11 *Corinthum patres vestri extinctum esse voluerunt*.
- 5 *tributum...frumentum*] cf. c. 19, l. 2, and *Germ.* c. 29, l. 7.
annus] the year's produce.
- 6 *emuniendis*] the word is first used by Livy in the sense of 'to build up'; here it means 'to make passable,' in which sense it is first used by Seneca.
- 7 *conteruntur*] are exhausted.
- 8 *ultra*] here seems to mean little more than *insuper*, as it does elsewhere in Tacitus.
- 11 *viles*] explains *in excidium*, and both are explained by the next sentence.
- 13 *exercendis*] properly applicable to *arva* and *metalla* is by a stretch of meaning applied to *portus* also, 'to work the harbours,' meaning to do the work required to make them profitable. The dative of the gerundive

used to express a purpose barely and without reference to the regimen of the verb is frequent in Livy as well as in Tacitus.

- 16 *quibus...est*] subject to *sumite*.
 17 *Brigantes*] the rising under Boudicca (c. 16) must be alluded to, though the peoples mentioned in connexion with that rising, *Ann.* XIV. 31, are only the Icenî and Trinobantes. Others however may have joined in it, and the Brigantes would naturally be named by Galgacus as being nearest to Caledonia.
 19 *potuere*] with *iugum exuere* has the conditional force, which in common with impersonal verbs and *debeo* it frequently has in the indicative mood, 'could have thrown off,' but with the former verbs of the sentence it states unconditionally what the Brigantes were able to do.
 20 *patientiam*] see notes on text.

CHAPTER XXXII.

- 22 *an*] 'perhaps you believe,' the rhetorical use of *an*, by which a speaker draws special attention to a proposition for the purpose of refuting it.
 23 *nostris*] very emphatic, 'it is on our want of union that their reputation is reared, and so they turn &c.'
 25 *ut...ita*] cf. c. 6, l. 32.
 26 *nisi si*] properly, 'except on the supposition that,' is used here as elsewhere, e.g. Cic. *Catil.* II. 4, *de Orat.* II. 58. 237, in the ironical sense in which *nisi forte* is more commonly used suggesting an absurd alternative 'unless of course you imagine that the Gauls &c. who, though they may &c., were yet &c., are bound to their owners by loyal attachment.' Some deny the ironical use of *nisi si*, but see Hand Tursell. IV. 239.
 28 *commodent*] 'lend,' cf. Livy XXXIV. 12.
 p. 21. 2 *circumspectantes*] implies uneasiness and apprehension, cf. Sallust *Jug.* 72. 2.
 5 *nostras*] ready to strike for us; *manus* may mean 'troops,' but 'hands' seems more expressive here; Gauls and Germans are meant as well as British, as the next sentence shows.
 9 *inter...imperantes*] really equivalent to a subordinate sentence *cum hi male pareant illi iniuste imperent*; we use 'between' in the same way, 'between grudging obedience and tyrannical governing the municipia are in an unhealthy and mutinous temper.'

- 10 *aegra*] in a moral sense, as often, e.g. Livy v. 3 *aegri aliquid esse in republica*.
municipia] Londinium and Verulamium were the only *municipia* in Britain at this time.
- 11 *metalla*] i.e. labour in mines or stone-quarries, a punishment of slaves. *est=positum est*, the choice between the two lay on the plain in which they were going to fight.
- 14 *cogitate*] *cogitare* with the accus. 'to reflect upon' is found in Cicero.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

- 16 *moris est=mos est* is used by Cicero and Livy as well as T.
- 17 *agmina*] sc. *erant* 'there were moving bodies,' i.e. a general movement began.
- 18 *fulgores*] this plural occurs nowhere else, 'arms flashed as the boldest warriors showed in front of the rest,' the gleam of arms would show more in rapidly moving individuals than in the whole body.
procursu] first used by Livy.
- 19 *quamquam*] cf. c. 1, l. 7.
- 20 *adhuc*] this use of *adhuc=insuper* is post-Augustan.
- 22 *auspiciis*] the auspices under the Empire belonged to the emperor as universal commander-in-chief. Tacitus puts into Agricola's mouth what is a sort of compromise between republican and imperial speech; the *imperium Romanum* under the Republic meant the sovereign power of the Roman people, under the Empire it meant the power of one man.
nostra] 'with loyal assistance from me.'
- 24 *paene...naturam*] qualify *labore*.
- 26 *veterum*] 'former'; cf. Verg. *Aen.* vi. 446 *in veterem revoluta figuram*.
- 27 *fama...tenemus*] is rather a play on the meanings of the word *tenemus* than a case of zeugma as most editors call it; with the first phrase it means to grasp mentally, in the second literally to hold.
- 28 *inventā*] is oratorical exaggeration.
- 32 *vota &c.*] 'the course of your prayers and prowess is free,' i.e. you have the opportunity you desired of getting at the enemy and showing your valour.
in aperto] cf. c. 1, l. 12.
- p. 22. 1 *prona*] 'straightforward'= *facilia*; cf. Sall. *Jug.* c. 14.
victoribus...victis] = *si vicerimus...si victi erimus*.

- 2 *silvas evasisse*] a sense-construction used also by Livy.
 3 *in frontem*] 'while we face front' is opposed to *fugientibus*: strictly speaking it should have a participle expressing motion of some kind, 'marching' or 'fighting' towards the front.
 6 *in his*] cf. c. 32, l. 10 *in campo*.
 7 *decretum est*] 'it has long been my settled opinion,' cf. Cic. *Epp. ad Div.* II. 6. 3 *in quo omnia mea posita esse decrevi*.
 8 *proinde*] 'accordingly,' generally followed by an imperative or quasi-imperative.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

- 11 *constitisset*] 'had taken up its position against you,' i.e. 'were facing you.'
 12 *decora*] 'brilliant actions'; cf. Livy III. 12 *cum multa referret sua familiaeque decora*.
 14 *unam legionem*] cf. c. 26.
 16 *penetrantibus*] sc. *nobis*, the statement refers to the past experiences of the army, hence *ruere* is perfect.
 18 *pellebantur*] the imperfect is picturesque, the timid animals were flying in all directions, as the bolder ones advanced to attack us. The plural verb after the virtual plural *fortissimum quodque* presents no difficulty.
 19 *ceciderunt*] is a true perfect, expressing a present result of a completed action, 'have long been lying in their graves.'
 numerus] is contemptuous, cf. Horace *Ep.* I. 2. 27; *reliquus* is attracted to agree with *numerus*, 'what is left is but a horde.'
 20 *quos quod &c.*] 'and as to (=to account for) the fact that you have found them at last, (believe) not that they have turned to bay but have been caught unawares.' *restiterunt* is condensed speech for *scitote* (or something equivalent) *eos restitisse*, a condensation not uncommon in classical writers.
 21 *novissimae res*] = *extremae res* 'their desperate position.'
 extremo metu] abl. of instrument; we should make it the subject, 'the extreme terror of their desperate position has glued them to where they stand, for you to &c.'
 23 *transigite*] *transigere cum aliqua re* is late Latin, the classical construction is *transigere rem cum aliquo*.
 imponite] the metaphor is from putting the finishing stroke to something.
 25 *imputari*] cf. c. 27, l. 32.

- 26 *causas*] considering the connexion in which these words stand the explanation given by Ch. and B. is probably the right one, "the soldiers were to do their work so thoroughly that there should be no strength left for rebellion."

CHAPTER XXXV.

- 31 *ruentes*] = *accurrentes ad arma* according to Kritz, but they could not be marshalled while they were running about. *ruentes* seems rather to indicate a mental condition than an action and is probably to be taken closely with *instinctos*, 'fired and rushing' = 'fired with rushing ardour.'

p. 23. 1 *firmarent*] cf. c. 14, l. 8.

adfunderentur] formed on the model of *circumfundere* which is used in this sense by Caesar and Livy, is apparently ἀπαξ ἐλημμένον for *adde-
rentur*.

3 *bellanti*] sc. *Agricolae*.

pellerentur] sc. *auxilia*.

4 *in speciem* &c.] to impose on the eyes and fears of their foes, cf. *Ann.* II. 6.

6 *insurgerent*] 'covered the gently rising ground behind in ascending lines,' *velut* indicates the unusual metaphorical use of *insurgerent*.

media campi] the level ground between the two armies.

covinnarius] cf. c. 12.

7 *streptu ac discursu*] 'with noisy careering.'

11 *promptior in*] so *Ann.* XV. 25 *promptus in pavorem*; the more usual construction is *promptus ad*.

firmus adversis] *adversus* or *contra* would be more usual instead of the dative. The meaning of the phrase is not clear; 'resolute under adverse circumstances' (Ch. and B., who apparently take *adversis* as ablative) seems hardly to the point here. I think T. means 'firm against opposition' = 'self-reliant,' which seems to agree better with *promptior in spem*.

12 *vexilla* is generally explained to mean that some *vexilla* of veterans (cf. c. 18) were serving among the *auxilia*. But probably Tacitus only means the standards of the *auxilia*.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

14 *gladiis...caetris*] properly speaking qualify only *excutere*, which = 'to parry,' what Vegetius expresses by *obliquis ictibus venientia tela deflectere*.

16 *superfundere*] 'to shower' is first used in prose by Livy.

- 17 *cohortes*] that is, all the cohorts of Batavians and two of Tungri. The Batavi lived in the *Insula Batavorum* formed by the two great branches of the Rhine on the N. and S. and the sea on the W. On the Tungri see *Germ.* c. 2.
- 19 *exercitatum*] sc. *est*, elsewhere is used of the person practised in a thing, here of the thing in which a person is practised.
inhabile] 'awkward,' again an unusual application of the word, which generally has reference to the subject not to the object.
- 20 *sine mucrone*] 'having no point.'
- 21 *complexum armorum*] lit. 'interlacing of weapons,' i.e. fencing or sword-play.
tolerabant] with an inanimate subject is a late use.
- 23 *erigere*] cf. c. 18, l. 31.
- 24 *aemulatione...conisae*] 'roused by emulation to vigorous united effort.'
- 26 *relinquebantur*] the meaning is that owing to the haste of the Roman troops to complete their victory they left most of the enemy either half killed or unwounded behind them.
equitum] that is the Roman cavalry. The meaning of the following apparently is that the cavalry caused some consternation in the enemy at first by their attack, but presently got into difficulties, being entangled in the dense masses of the enemy, and impeded by the unevenness of the ground, and caused trouble also to their own infantry.
- 30 *pugnae facies*] a late use of *facies* beginning with Vergil, cf. *Aen.* VI. 104.
cum aegre &c.] the difficulty of the ascent was increased by pressure from the cavalry horses behind. See notes on text.
- 32 *tulerat*] plpf. of repeated action after *quicunque*, *quoties*, *ut quisque* &c., see Roby *L. G.* II. 313, cf. Livy XXI. 42 *ut cuiusque sors exciderat, alacer arma raptim capiebat. transversos* 'in flank,' *obvios* 'in front.'

CHAPTER XXXVII.

- p. 24. 1 *adhuc*] 'so far,' of a state of things belonging only to the past and not including the present (= *ad id tempus*), frequent in Livy and Tacitus esp. with adjectives and participles; rarely, if ever, found in Cicero. Hand Tursell. I. 160.
- 2 *insederant*] 'had been occupying.'
vacui] pregnant use = *securi* at their ease, generally used with some qualification to indicate the meaning.

- 3 *coeperant, nī*] 'were beginning, when &c.,' cf. c. 4, l. 19.
 4 *subita belli*] 'emergencies,' cf. Livy VI. 32.
 6 *adcucurrerant*] cf. c. 36, l. 32.
 7 *consilium*] viz. to attack the Romans in the rear.
que] epexegetical, the sentence being added to explain *consilium... versum*.
 10 *eosdem*] sc. *captos*.
 12 *quidam*] a corresponding distributive is omitted before *paucioribus*, in fact *catervae hostium armatorum* really = *ex hostium catervis plerique armati*.
terga praestare] for *t. dare* or *praebere* is ἀπαξ εἰρημένον, with this whole passage compare Sall. *Jug.* c. 101.
quidam] instead of *alii* indicates individuals who preferred immediate death to flight.
 14 *et aliquando*] 'at times too the conquered showed passion and valour.' The description that follows reminds us of Verg. *Aen.* II. 367.
 17 *frequens ubique*] 'showing himself everywhere,' for *frequens* of the frequent appearance of one person, cf. Cic. *p. Rosc. Amerino* c. 6 *erat ille Romae frequens*.
 18 *indaginis*] cf. Livy VII. 37 *cum praemissus eques velut indagine dissipatos Samnites ageret*; *indago* means 'the process of catching wild beasts by stopping up the outlets of the woods with nets, men, dogs &c.' Conington, Verg. *Aen.* IV. 121.
 19 *equitum* &c.] the meaning is that where the woods were thick they were searched by infantry assisted by dismounted cavalry, where they were thinner and more open by mounted cavalry alone. The object was to prevent the enemy from hiding in the woods and collecting for fresh attacks.
 20 *vulnus*] for the metaphorical use cf. Cic. *de Fin.* IV. 66 *quae hic reipublicae vulnera imponebat eadem ille sanabat*.
 21 *fiduciam*] on the part of the soldiers which would have exposed them to the attacks obviated by Agricola's precautions.
 23 *vitabundi in vicem*] mutually evasive, i.e. inclined to avoid one another; the adj. in *bundus* is not quite the same in meaning as the present participle, it expresses to some extent a quality as well as an action. *in vicem* is late usage for *inter se*.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

p. 25. 2 *ultra*] 'actually,' cf. c. 19, l. 4.

3 *miscere...separare*] first formed plans in common, then separately each for himself.

4 *pignorum*] wives and children, cf. *Germ.* c. 7.

5 *tamquam*] 'on the ground that,' cf. c. 16.

6 *faciem aperuit*] a Tacitean phrase, 'disclosed the proportions of the victory in wider view'; *latius* really expresses a quality of the object as an extension of the predicate, cf. *Livy* XXVII. 28. 2.

7 *vastum*] suggests dreariness as well as vast extent.

9 *incerta*] sc. *erant*, the Romans could not tell for certain from the tracks, where to look for the enemy.

10 *spargi*] 'scattered,' that is, carried into several different parts.

11 *Borestorum*] unknown.

13 *vires*] a military force.

praecesserat] the prefect was secured by the terror of the late victory as well as by the actual force at his command.

14 *lento itinere*] sc. *facto*, 'after a leisurely march.'

16 *Trucculensem portum*] unknown.

17 *unde*] qualifies *lecto* only, and *eo* must be supplied to complete *redierat*, 'from which it had started to survey all the near side of Britain, and had now returned thither.' *proximo*, sc. *Romanis* the E. coast.

lecto] a regular nautical use of the word, 'to coast along,' cf. *Verg. Ecl.* VIII. 7.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

24 *rerum cursum*] a pregnant phrase, not 'this course of events' but 'this series of successes,' *rerum* implying *rerum feliciter gestarum*.

quamquam] cf. c. 1, l. 7.

25 *moris*] cf. c. 33, l. 16.

27 *e Germania*] sc. *reportatum*.

triumphum] over the Catti and Daci, A.D. 83, cf. *Germ.* c. 37; see *Merivale*, c. 61.

emptis &c.] *Suetonius* tells the same story of *Caligula*, *Cal.* c. 47. The people thus purchased were not Germans apparently, but people who would easily 'make up' as Germans.

31 *formarentur*] is the final use of the subj.

32 *studia fori*] 'forensic accomplishments.'

civ. art. decus] 'distinguished political ability,' in both expressions people are really meant rather than abstract things. *artes civiles* would of course strictly speaking include all non-military accomplishments, but here is pretty clearly confined to statesmanship.

33 *occuparet*] 'was to seize the position of military eminence.' *alius* another, that is, some one other than the emperor.

utcumque] 'in one way or another.'

34 *dissimulari*] 'ignored.'

imperatoriam] 'there was something kingly (imperial) in the character of a great general.'

p. 26. 1 *quodque...erat*] 'and after brooding over the matter in his way (*suo*) till he had satisfied himself, a sure sign of savage intentions.' The editors all take these words as qualifying *secreto* only, in which case they must be apparently a general statement that Domitian's habit of deliberating in secret was an indication of the habitual inhumanity of his thoughts. It is dangerous to question the verdict of authorities, but I am inclined to think that the words are particular in meaning and are in apposition to the whole phrase *secreto suo satiat*, the fact that D. was satisfied with the result of his solitary reflections on the subject, indicated that he meant mischief to Agricola. If he had been discontented and unable to show a *laeta frons*, it would have meant that he did not see his way to ultimately satisfying his spite against Agricola.

On D.'s habit of secret and solitary deliberation cf. Pliny *Paneg.* 48 *non adire quisquam nec alloqui audebat tenebras et solitudinem captantem.*

3 *reponere*] 'to reserve.'

CHAPTER XL.

6 *ornamenta*] these were the *toga picta*, the *tunica palmata* and the *corona laureata* which the generals so distinguished were allowed to wear on festive occasions. This was a substitute for the old triumphal procession (*pro triumpho*) which since the year B.C. 14 had been the special prerogative of the emperors alone, as commanders-in-chief of all the Roman armies.

statuae] the *statua illustris* otherwise *triumphalis* was an additional honour not regularly included among the *ornamenta triumphalia*.

8 *addique*] a verb must be supplied from *iubet*, 'and in addition allowed it to be generally thought &c.'

- 10 *maioribus*] greater, in the sense of, more distinguished.
- 11 *ex sec. min.*] 'one of his most confidential servants,' abstract for concrete, as we sometimes use the word 'service.'
- 15 *sive...sive*] loosely appended to *credidere*, really introducing an apposition to the whole clause, *libertum...remeasse* 'a story which may be true, or a fiction adapted to the character of the emperor.'
- 16 *ex*] of the model on which a thing is formed, cf. Cic. *de Orat.* III. 12. 47 *quae autem sunt aut tua plane aut imitatione ex aliquo expressa*; from this is derived the meaning of 'proportion,' 'accordance' &c. as in *ex more, ex consuetudine* &c.
- 18 *notabilis*] a rather favourite word with Tacitus, is seldom used in earlier Latin, by Cicero only once in a letter.
celebritate...frequentia] two words of originally similar meaning; but the former in addition to the idea of numerousness or thronging, acquired a sense of fame or honour associated with numbers or frequency; so that here the two words together imply a large attendance of people turning out to honour him.
- 21 *brevi osculo*] 'a limited embrace,' kissing as a salutation was common in Rome, so much so as to become in some cases a great nuisance, cf. Martial XI. 98; for the custom at court cf. Tac. *Ann.* XIV. 56.
servientium] 'flunkies,' cf. c. 4, l. 13.
- 22 *grave inter otiosos*] 'unpopular among men of peace.' *otiosi*=(as Kritz) *togati, a bello alieni, otium* here being opposed rather to *bellum* than *negotium*.
- 24 *hausit*] A frequent metaphor in Cicero and Livy. 'He thoroughly absorbed (or drank deep of) tranquillity and peace'='he adapted himself perfectly to a life of peaceful retirement.'
cultu] 'style of living.'
- 25 *per ambitionem*] *per* is used of the standard of judgment, 'with whom showy selfishness is the test of greatness.'
- 27 *famam*]=*famae interpretationem* as T. leaves us to understand from the following *interpretarentur*, 'sought an explanation of A.'s reputation, which only a few could give.'

CHAPTER XLI.

- 33 *et*] couples the group *gloria...ac...laudantes* to *princeps*.
- p. 27. 1 *laudantes*] cf. c. 4, l. 13, means apparently people who praised him for the purpose of making him more obnoxious to the emperor.
- 2 *sileri*] *sileo* with an accusative of a person is first used by Horace, cf. *Od.* I. 12. 21 *neque te silebo*. Compare the use of *taceo*.

- 3 *tot* &c.] these reverses took place from A.D. 86—88. See Merivale c. 61.
- 4 *per ign.*] This combination of the causal abl. and *per* with the accus. is not infrequent in Sallust and Livy. Here *per ign.* implies a more general and less immediate cause than *temeritate*.
- 5 *expugnati*] is used of persons by Caesar and Livy.
- 7 *damna* &c.] ‘with one misfortune treading on the heels of another,’ cf. Livy II. 54.
- 12 *verberatas*] this metaphor is found in Plautus and Cicero.
- 13 *dum*] the use of *dum*, very frequent in Livy, in which a causal sense is combined with the temporal; it is best rendered in English by a participle.
- amore* &c.] ablatives of cause.
- 14 *deterioribus*] neuter, ‘the worst interpretations,’ cf. *Ann.* II. 82 in *deterius aucta*, and *Hist.* III. 13.
- 16 *ipsam*] rather heightens the effect of the whole sentence than of the substantive it agrees with, and practically = *ultra*, ‘was actually driven headlong into glory’ against his will, that is, whereas generally it is striven for in vain.

CHAPTER XLII.

- 19 *sortiretur*] ‘in which he could draw for the provinces of Asia and Africa,’ that is, draw lots with another man, which was to have which province. *sortiretur* is the conditional use of the subj. with suppressed protasis, sometimes called the potential. Tacitus means that if the circumstances had been ordinary, Agricola would this year have had one of these provinces allotted to him. They were both senatorial provinces allotted yearly to ex-consuls according to seniority.

Civica] Cerialis Civica was put to death by Domitian, while proconsul of Asia, on a charge of treason. This T. says furnished a precedent to Domitian for getting rid of Agricola, and a warning to the latter not to accept the office.

consilium] the means of forming a judgment, so a warning.

- 20 *accessere*] ‘were added,’ that is, the hints of these people came to confirm the impression created in A.’s mind by the case of Cerialis, ‘besides this certain people familiar &c. went out of their way to question Agricola.’
- 22 *ultra*] means that they made the occasion for doing this themselves, did not wait for Agricola to invite their advice.

interrogarent] consecutive as in Cic. *pro Mur. c. 11 inventus est scriba quidam qui oculos cornicum confixerit.*

occultius] opposed to *non iam obscuri*, 'guardedly.'

23 *adprobanda*] in approving his excuses to the emperor, that is, inducing the emperor to accept his excuses.

24 *non iam obscuri*] throwing off all disguise.

25 *pertraxere*] not literally 'dragged,' but 'compelled to go,' 'by mingled persuasions and intimidation drove him to an interview with Domitian.'

simulatione] the dative or *ad* with the accus. would be more usual, but with the ablative *paratus* perhaps expresses more of habitual condition, 'ready furnished with,' 'always ready with,' 'always ready to play a part.'

26 *in adrogantiam comp.*] 'assumed an air of haughty indifference,' lit. 'carefully arranged for arrogance,' this use of *compono* to express artificial appearance is common in Tacitus, cf. *Ann. 11. 34, Hist. 1. 54, &c.*

28 *beneficii invidia*] *invidia* is used here in the wide sense of hatefulness, rather than odium or unpopularity; the latter sense would not suit the verb *erubuit*.

salarium] in the sense of 'salary' belongs to post-Augustan Latin. The payment of a regular salary to provincial governors was begun by Augustus; the amount of it is uncertain, in the 3rd century it seems to have been 1000000 sesterces.

30 *offensus*] with accus. and infin. occurs only here and in two other places, Suet. *Aug. c. 89, Phaedrus IV. 11. 6.*

conscientia] as frequently, implies a guilty self-knowledge though it generally has a qualifying genitive, cf. c. 16, l. 14, 'perhaps knowing what he did, he shrank from seeming &c.'

32 *Domitiani vero*] this is very condensed writing, three distinct propositions being tightened into two. What T. means is, that whereas it is characteristic of human nature generally to hate a man you have injured, and whereas it was specially characteristic of Domitian's nature to do so, yet even his jealous temper was more or less overpowered by A.'s modesty and tact. Ordinary Latin writing would have been, *cum proprium...sit, D. autem praeceps esset, moderatione tamen &c.*

p. 28. 1 *irrevocabilior*] 'as inexorable as it was dark.' This use of *irrevocabilis* for *inexorabilis* is not found elsewhere; it may have been suggested by such a phrase as *irrevocabilis aetas* which by a natural personification represents inexorableness.

3 *inanī*] is explained by *in nullum reipublicae usum* below.

- famam fatumque*] 'he would not challenge death-fraught fame,' cf. c. 5 *nec minus periculum* &c.
- 4 *inlicita*] not 'lawless' or 'illicit' in the general and bad sense, but 'defiant of legal authority' (by implication) unjustly used as by the bad emperors; 'anarchic ways,' 'defiance of authority.'
- 6 *escendere*] sc. *posse*.
plerique] 'mostly reached through climbing by rugged ways to the glory of a showy martyrdom.' *plerique* most of those who obtain such honour as opposed to Agricola.
- 7 *abrupta*] the metaphor is from a rugged, difficult, and perilous ascent. Compared with *Ann.* IV. 20 *per abruptam contumaciam* the word here seems intended to suggest the rugged character of the people who adopt the course as well as the difficult and dangerous nature of the course itself. *quo* 'whither' qualifies not *inclaruerunt* but the participle implied in *per abrupta*.

CHAPTER XLIII.

- 11 *vulgus...populus*] seem to be synonymous, cf. *Hist.* I. 89 *vulgus et magnitudine nimia curarum communium expers populus*, *Dialog.* c. 7 *vulgus imperitum et tunicatus hic populus*, 'the common people, our (generally) insensible populace.'
- 12 *aliud agens*] *aliud agere* is the opposite of *hoc agere* 'to attend' (cf. the formula *hoc age* in sacrifices), so to be 'inattentive,' 'indifferent,' 'insensible.'
- 15 *constans*] consistent, i.e. not fitful or scattered, but universal and lasting. Dio Cassius says ἐσφάγη διὰ ταῦτα ὑπὸ Δομιτιάνου.
- 16 *ceterum*] 'however that may be.' *valetudinem* 'illness,' *valetudo* is a neutral word meaning good or ill health acc. to qualification or context.
- 17 *visentis*] agrees with *principatus*.
- 18 *illud*] cf. *Ann.* IV. 19 *quasi illud res publica esset*, 'which may have meant regard (anxiety) or may have meant diagnosis.' *inquisitio* means the desire to know how the case was going on, whether the poison was working satisfactorily.
- 19 *quidem*] 'anyhow,' γὰρ μὴν, whatever else might be true, this was certainly true.
momenta] 'the changes in the sinking patient from hour to hour,' *momenta* properly 'movements of a balance' here means the changes from time to time in the patient's condition indicating approaching death.
- 20 *constabat*] 'it was well known.' *nuntiata* sc. *esse*.

- 22 *securus iam odii*] 'relieved at last from feelings of hatred and naturally more capable of dissembling joy than fear,' means that D. having no longer any reason for hating and therefore fearing A. could easily mask his joy under a pretence of sorrow.

qui...dissimularet] generic, a phase of the consecutive subjunctive, 'being a kind of man to.'

- 25 *piissimae*] the superlative only belongs to post-Augustan Latin. Cicero denied its existence.

velut honore iudicioque] lit. 'as if by honour and choice,' 'as if he were honoured by A.'s choice,' *iudicium*=the free expression of a favorable opinion, as it is used by Cicero of the people's verdicts in elections. With the use of it in connexion with wills, cf. Suet. *Aug.* c. 66. As to the insecurity of testamentary dispositions under Domitian, compare Pliny *Paneg.* c. 43. Compare also for similar experience under a similar emperor the will of Prasutagus, *Ann.* XIV. 31.

CHAPTER XLIV.

- 32 *tertium*] A.D. 40, but see notes on text.

p. 29. 1 *Collega Priscoque*] consuls in A.D. 93, so that the MS. reading *sexto* must be a mistake, but whether Tacitus's or the copyist's it is impossible to say.

- 2 *decentior* &c.] 'graceful rather than imposing,' cf. c. 4, l. 22.

- 3 *metus*] 'there was no terror in his look,' *metus* of that which inspires fear, cf. Quintil. *Inst.* VI. ii. 21 *et metum tamen duplicem intelligi volo, quem patimur et quem facimus.*

supererat] 'a face full of kindliness,' lit. 'kindliness of face was abundant,' cf. *Germ.* c. 6 *ne ferrum quidem superest.*

- 5 *medio in* &c.] 'in the middle time of his life, still unimpaired,' i.e. 'in the full vigour of middle life.' *integrae* in sense is really in apposition to the whole phrase, 'in the middle time of life, that is, the unimpaired time,' or, in other words, it qualifies *aetatis* as modified by *in medio spatio.*

quantum ad] = *quod attinet ad*, cf. *Germ.* c. 21.

- 7 *impleverat*] he had filled up the measure of, i.e. fully enjoyed, cf. *Ann.* XIV. 54 *mensuram implere*, Pliny *Epp.* II. 1. 2 *summum fastigium privati hominis implere.*

- 8 *adstruere*] this metaphorical use of this word begins with Ovid, and is not unfrequent in post-Augustan prose.

- 9 *speciosae*] 'a handsome estate.'

- 11 *beatus...effugisse*] a poetical construction, cf. c. 8 *peritus obsequi*.
 12 *sicut...ita*] = *ut...ita*, cf. c. 6, l. 32.
 14 *quod*] sc. *durare...videre*, 'a happiness which in our hearing he used to pray for with sanguine presentiment.'
augurio] is used in this quite general sense of 'presentiment' by Cicero, but with a qualifying *quasi*.
apud] is a curious use of the preposition, due perhaps to the fact that *nostras aures* = *nos audientes*, the listening people being expressed *per synecdochen* by their ears.
 15 *festinatae*] 'premature,' with perhaps a suggestion that it was accelerated by foul means.
tulit] probably *nobis* should be supplied, 'it afforded us great comfort that he escaped.'
 16 *per intervalla...temporum*] 'at intervals and with pauses,' lit. 'in the way of intervals and breathing-holes.'
spiramenta] properly 'vents' or 'air-holes,' Verg. *Georg.* i. 90. D. is said here to have left breathing-holes in his persecution, so that it was not continuous. Perhaps T. also intends to suggest the idea of *breathing* space being allowed to D.'s victims. The word is only used in this metaphorical sense here and by Ammianus Marcellinus. *per* with its case is used to form an adverb of manner, as frequently in Livy.

CHAPTER XLV.

- 19 *obsessam...clausum*] we have no information to verify this allusion. The fact that the same thing was done by Nero, noticed by all the commentators, throws no particular light on this passage.
 20 *eadem strage*] all those victims of one destroying hand, ex-consuls murdered, noble women exiled and banished.
consularium] Suet. *Dom.* c. 10, where he gives the names of ten.
 21 *feminarum*] Pliny *Epp.* III. II. 3, three are mentioned, Gratilla, Arria, and Fannia.
fugas is wider than *exilia*, including the milder form of banishment known as *relegatio*.
una] that is, under Domitian, for he began work as a *delator* under Nero. Domitian in the early years of his reign discouraged delation.
 22 *censebatur*] 'was distinguished by,' the meaning is derived from the original meaning of *censor*, to be rated or assessed, the ablative signifying originally the amount at which the person was rated, so, in the derived

meaning, that with which he is credited or by which he is distinguished, cf. Martial 1. 61. 3 *censetur Apona Livio suo tellus*; the use is a late one.

intra] i.e. the savage sentiments of Messalinus were confined as yet to the Alban villa, they were not openly uttered in public.

Albanam] 'the Alban stronghold' was a villa at the foot of the Alban mount where Domitian chiefly resided. It was regarded as a sort of head-quarters or citadel of his tyranny. Dio Cassius says τοῦτο τὸ χωρίον ὑπὸ τὸ Ἄλβανον ὅρος ὥσπερ ἀκρόπολιν τινα ἐξείλετο. It was the scene of the council of the Turbot described in Juv. iv. and most of D.'s tyrannical acts were planned here. Pliny *Epp.* iv. 11 describes how the *pontifices* were assembled here to condemn the vestal virgin, Cornelia. Domitian, like Tiberius, seems to have preferred to live principally away from Rome.

- 23 *Messalini*] Catullus Messalinus, another *delator* and confidant of Domitian, is thus described by Pliny *Epp.* iv. 22, 'deprived of the use of his eyes he added to a cruel disposition the evils of blindness; he knew neither fear nor shame nor pity; for which reason he was the oftener used by Domitian, as missile weapons are used which like him are blind and indifferent whither they fly, to discharge at the best men in the state.'

Baebius Massa] afterwards a *delator* was in A.D. 93 accused of extortion in the province of Baetica, of which he had been proconsul, by Pliny and Herennius Senecio.

- 24 *nostrae*] i.e. the hands of senators, who tried him, of whom T. was one.

Helvidius Priscus, son of the man mentioned in c. 2, was accused by Publicius Certus of having reflected on Domitian in one of the theatrical pieces known as *exodia*.

- 24 *Maurici Rusticique*] two brothers, of whom the latter L. Junius Arulenus Rusticus was put to death for his panegyric on Paetus Thrasea (c. 2); the former was banished, but returned to enjoy the friendship of Nerva and Trajan.

- 25 *visus...perfudit*] a very harsh zeugma; it is a question whether some such word as *pudore*, which Draeger inserts in his text, has not dropped out.

Senecio] cf. c. 2. *sanguine*, very rhetorical.

- 26 *tamen*] 'at any rate,' 'at least,' an elliptical use of the adv., by which it corresponds to a concessive clause not expressed, but implied: here the full expression would be, 'Nero, though he was Nero, yet,

&c.' Compare the elliptical use of *si tamen*, Martial x. 24. 6 *si tamen expedit*, Ovid *Trist.* III. 14. 24.

28 *subscriberentur*] 'were noted down against us,' the use is perhaps derived from the censorial use of the word, to write against a man's name in the census the reason for affixing the *nota censoria* to it, or perhaps it merely means, 'to write secretly,' as in Suet. *Aug.* c. 27 *cum Pinarium subscribere quaedam animadvertisset.*

29 *denotandis*] T. seems to have had in his mind the passage in Cic. *de Imp. Cn. Pomp.* c. 3 *is qui uno die tota in Asia tot in civitatibus uno nuntio atque una significatione cives Romanos necandos trucidandosque denotavit*: if so, the imitation is not happy. T.'s sentence contains a far-fetched conceit, especially in the personal allusion *rubor* &c. D.'s red face however seems to have suggested shamelessness to others as well, cf. Pliny *Paneg. in ore inpudentia multo rubore suffusa.* Mr C. J. Yellowplush's description of the Earl of Crabs is like, with a difference, 'whose nose seemed blushing for what his mouth was continually swallowing.'

p. 30. 1 *pro virili portione*] a Tacitean variant for the ordinary *pro virili parte*, cf. *Hist.* III. 20.

donares] 'as though you would do all you could to bestow innocence on your emperor,' seems to be a difficult way of expressing that A. made no complaints which might reflect on the emperor—probably for the same reason for which he made his will in the emperor's favour.

3 *auget*] the subject is *quod...contigit.*

valetudini] 'his sick-bed,' cf. c. 43, l. 16.

6 *dolor...vulnus*] sc. *est.*

7 *condicione*] *condicio* means 'position' or 'circumstances' (the terms, as it were, on which one lives or exists), here *condicione absentiae* means little more than 'owing to the accident of a prolonged absence.'

ante quadriennium] = *quadriennio ante*, 'for four years' before (he died).

CHAPTER XLVI.

12 *magnae*] is interesting if it implies, as it seems to do, a belief in conditional immortality depending on cultivation of the soul during life.

15 *voces*] this belief that the dead interested themselves in the affairs of the living is found elsewhere, and in particular in Scipio's dream, Cicero *de Rep.* VI.

fas est] 'which may not be lamented or bemoaned without sin'; T. means that it would be wrong to lament that such virtues as A.'s had been translated to a higher sphere, such as is described in Scipio's dream, *omnibus qui patriam conservarint adiuverint auxerint, certum esse in caelo definitum locum ubi beati aevo sempiterno fruuntur.*

16 *immortalibus*] 'undying,' with reference to this biography, cf. ll. 25 fol.

natura] 'natural powers,' *suppeditet* intransitive.

21 *non quia*] in classical Latin would be *non quo* or *non quod*.

intercedendum] 'that a veto should be put on' = 'that such things should be discountenanced.'

25 *possis*] the indefinite second person, 'one.'

GERMANIA.

CHAPTER I.

p. 31. 2 *Germania omnis*] the meaning of these two words has been very variously explained. They seem to mean 'Germany as a whole land.' *omnis* means 'entire' as in Cic. *de F.* II. 34 *omne caelum totamque cum universo mari terram*, so that *G. omnis* is not so much 'all G.,' as 'that which is all G.,' the geographical area to the whole of which that name applies (almost = 'G. proper'). Caesar *B. G.* I. 1 *Gallia est omnis divisa* is scarcely parallel, *omnis* there as the position shows being closely connected with the predicate *divisa*, 'Gaul is all of it divided into three parts,' i.e. the three parts make up the whole of it. The *Germania* that T. is thinking of is free Germany, otherwise called *magna* and *barbara*, i.e. *Germania* exclusive of the Roman provinces called by that name. As Müllenhof has pointed out, in this sentence T. sacrifices exactness of statement to symmetry of form and originality of expression, (1) by contrasting the geographical term *Germania* with the ethnical names *Galli*, *Raeti*, &c. It would be true to say that *Germania* was divided from *Gallia* by the Rhine, because the Roman provinces of the name were really part of *Gallia*. But it was not true to say that it was divided from the Gauls, because there were Gauls on the right side of the Rhine as well as Germans on the left. (2) In omitting all mention of Noricum, which as much as Raetia was separated from Germany by the Danube. In point of style the sentence is a remarkable example of terse, symmetrical and pregnant writing. *Gallis Raetisque et Pannoniis* (a single name is here coupled by *que* to a group of two names coupled by *et*) is balanced by *Rheno et Danuvio*, as *Sarmatis Dacisque* by *mutuo metu aut montibus*. By using the abstract geographical name *Germania* in connexion with the living names *Galli*, &c., he suggests (and the suggestion is aided by *omnis*) the remoteness of the somewhat shadowy and indistinct barbarian-German world by con-

trast with the living reality of the civilised members of the Roman body. By the mixture of the ethical and physical in the phrase *mutuo metu aut montibus* he expresses in four words the facts (1) that where Germany bordered on the country of the Sarmatians the country was open and afforded no natural boundary, (2) that consequently only an artificial one existed, depending for its security on the extent to which each of the neighbouring peoples could inspire fear into the other, (3) that on the Dacian side the mountains furnished a physical boundary as well (*aut*). On the meaning and origin of the name *Germani* see c. 2, p. 32, l. 19. Strictly speaking the Rhine bounded part of Raetia, but Tacitus here probably means to speak of Raetia and Pannonia as both practically divided from Germany by the Danube.

Gallis] that is, the inhabitants of the Roman provinces included in the term Gallia.

Raetis] the Danubian provinces were Raetia, Vindelicia (from the end of the 1st century included in Raetia), Noricum, Pannonia Superior and Inferior. Raetia was bounded on the N. by the Danube, on the E. by the Aenus (Inn) and Noricum, on the S. by Liguria and Venetia, and on the W. by the Helvetii. In Trajan's time (A.D. 107) the N. boundary was pushed rather further N. than the Danube to a line running E. from Ratisbon (Castra Regina).

Pannoniis] The N. part here only is meant, bounded on the N. and E. by the Danube, on the W. by Noricum.

Sarmatis] was a very vague term at this time. From the connexion with the Daci, T. here would appear to be thinking specially of the Iazyges, a Sarmatian people inhabiting the plain country between the Danube and the Tysia (Theiss) as far as Dacia on the E., from which plain, according to Pliny *N. H.* iv. 80 they had driven the Daci into their hills.

Dacis] the province of Dacia was bounded on the N. by the Carpathians, on the E. by the Tyras, on the S. by the Danube, and on the W. by the Iazyges.

mutuo metu] Pliny says the Vistula was the boundary between the Sarmatians and Germans, but see above. Rivers too were perhaps not always the exact boundaries which geographers often assumed them to be.

4 *Oceanus*] that is, the North Sea and the Baltic. The N.E. boundary may be vaguely supplied from *Sarmatis*, but the probability is that T. leaves the boundary in that direction undefined, as his last chapter implies where he ends his description with the words *cetera iam fabulosa*.

sinus] means not only bays and inlets of the sea, but land curves as well, such as the Cimbric Chersonese. In fact the one implies the other.

- 5 *insularum spatia*] 'spacious islands,' 'islands of huge area,' cf. Juv. IV. 39 *spatium admirabile rhombi*, Seneca *Phaedr.* 814 *vasti spatio corporis*; the form of the expression is a form of synecdoche in which an object is expressed by a prominent characteristic, the object itself being added in appositional genitive, so that the governing substantive forms practically an adjective; it is found both in literary and colloquial Latin, e.g. *imbecillitas hominum*, 'weak-minded men' Cic., *hominum mendicabula*, 'beggarly fellows' Terence. Before T. the usage is confined to persons or living things; with the usage here cf. *pondera saxorum*, *uligines paludum*, &c.

cognitis] an appended ablative absolute, not stating a circumstance of the predicate, but attaching what is really a distinct coordinate proposition, a late use, found in Livy, e.g. IX. 20. 5, but by no means to be imitated. The connexion here is strictly speaking illogical as well. There is no apparent connexion between the fact of the ocean containing islands, &c. and the Romans becoming acquainted with certain tribes and kings. Either we must render with Baumstark 'where we have lately become acquainted,' or (better) we must assume an ellipse in the sense and take *cognitis* to give the ground on which T. makes the previous statement, '(and this we know) for, &c.' *gentibus...regibus*, i.e. non-monarchical and monarchical peoples.

- 6 *bellum*] probably covers all the military operations of the Romans in Germany from the campaigns of Drusus B.C. 12—9 to Domitian's expedition against the Catti. The last though a sham from a military point of view, might very possibly be the means of increased acquaintance with the country. *nuper* is a relative word, 'in recent times,' and may very well be used in reference to Caesar's knowledge of the Germans.

- 7 *Raeticarum*] the Raetian Alps adjoining the Pennine on the E. covered the greater part of the modern Tyrol and Grisons, including Mt Adūla, the lofty mountain group about the passes of the Splügen and St Bernardino, where is the source of that branch of the Rhine known as Hinterrhein. The other branch rises in the St Gotthard, about 20 miles W. of the Mt called Adula. Tacitus appears to have known only of one source, that of the Hinterrhein which rising as stated above, 'pushes its way through dreadful chasms, inaccessible to human feet, among broken rocks'; compare *inaccessio* and Ammian. Marcell.

XV. 4 *inter montium celsorum amfractus immani pulsu Rhenus exorients per praeruptos scopulos extenditur.*

inaccesso] 'inaccessible.' These participles compounded with *in* (negative) have an adjectival force, so *invictus*, &c.

vertice] Young students should be careful not to translate this with the definite article; 'on a peak in the R. Alps.'

8 *modico flexu*] 'flows with a gentle inclination towards the west, until it falls into the Northern sea.' *flexu* applies to the whole course, not to any particular bend in it. *versus* is participle.

9 *molli et clementer edito iugo*] carefully opposed to *inaccesso ac praecipiti vertice*, as on the other hand *erumpat* is opposed to *miscetur*; the antithesis fixes the meaning of *mollis*, which is clearly not, as rendered by some, 'grassy,' but 'easy.'

10 *Abnōbae*] Pliny *N. H.* 24 *ortus in Germania iugis montis Abnobae ex adverso Raurici, Galliae oppidi, multis ultra Alpes millibus ac per innumeras lapsus gentes Danuvii nomine, immenso aquarum auctu, et, unde primum Illyricum adluit, Hister appellatus, sexaginta annibus receptis, medio ferme eorum numero navigabili, in Pontum sex vastis fluminibus evolvitur.*

Abnoba was the name of the wooded mountain range afterwards called *silva Marciana*, now the Black Forest, on a height of which opposite to Augusta Rauracorum (mod. Augst) the Danube takes its rise.

pluris] sc. than the German peoples.

populos] beginning from the source, the Danube passed the Decumates agri, on both sides, Vindelici or N. Rhaeti on the right, S. Germans on the left, Noricum on the right, some Marcomanni on the left, Pannonia right, Quadi left; after the bend, Pannonia again right, Iazyges and W. Daci left, Moesia right, Daci left.

11 *sex meatibus*] other authorities give variously six and seven mouths. T. explains the variance in the next sentence; cf. Ammian. Marcell. XXII. 8. 45 *septimum (os) segnius et palustri specie nigrum.*

erumpat] Am. Marcell. l.c. uses the same word. Tacitus often uses the subj. with *donec* even when the clause contains a direct statement of fact. He (as also the elder Pliny) regularly so uses it when the *donec* clause refers to a present condition of things.

CHAPTER II.

21 *ipsos*] the inhabitants as opposed to the land; compare the use of *αὐτός*. It is quite possible that by saying 'the German inhabitants' instead of 'the inhabitants' alone Tacitus means to imply the true

Germans as opposed to the non-German peoples within the same area. Such an interpretation obviates a possible contradiction between this passage and what he says in c. 28.

crediderim] the subjunctive of modified assertion sometimes called potential (really it is conditional with ellipse of the protasis) used by earlier writers both in the present and aorist perfect, but by Tacitus most commonly in the latter.

minimeque] these words are quite distinct from *indigenas*. T. states two facts here, (1) that the Germans originated in the land in which they were found in his time, (2) that they had suffered no foreign admixture.

minime has been variously translated 'little,' 'very little,' and 'entirely not'; the last is probably what T. meant.

aliarum gentium adventibus et hospitibus] these words imply the influx of masses of people, tribes or portions of tribes, not of individuals from other nations. T. probably has in his mind such immigrations as that of the Trojans into Italy. The difference between *adventibus* and *hospitibus* is that the latter implies the consent or even invitation of the receiving people, the former covering invasions as well as immigrations, 'by influx or reception (entertainment) of other peoples.'

22 *nec*] corresponds to *et* before *immensus*, *sed* simply contradicting the *non* contained in *nec*.

p. 32. 1 *classibus*] cannot mean as *classe* or *navibus*, by sea, but in fleets, and is adapted to sense of *gentium* as shown above.

mutare] the infin. after *quaero* is generally confined to poetic diction.

2 *ultra*] seems to qualify *Oceanus*, cf. *Agric.* c. 25 *universarum ultra gentium*.

adversus] may be taken geographically as 'directly opposite,' 'antipodal,' 'at the other side of the world from us,' cf. *Cic. Acad. Pr.* II. 39 *dicitis enim esse e regione nobis e contraria parte orbis qui adversis vestigiis stant contra nostra vestigia, quos antipodas vocatis*. Pliny also uses the word of the North Pole. In that case what Tacitus would mean would best perhaps be expressed by 'belonging to another world,' cf. *ab orbe nostro*, I. 3. It may also be taken in the ethical sense 'hostile,' which seems more appropriate from the point of view of navigators, and is more in keeping with the apologetic *ut sic dixerim*.

3 *praeter*] it is an easy transition, if the context assists, from 'besides' to 'not counting,' 'letting alone,' or 'putting out of the question.' Cf. *Cic. de Leg.* II. xvii. 43 *sceleris et poena tristis; et praeter eos eventus qui sequuntur, per se ipsa maxima est*.

- 5 *informem terris*] ‘uncouth in its scenery.’
 6 *cultu*] abl. (of respect) of *cultus* subst. of *colo* in the sense of ‘inhabit,’ ‘dreary to live in and dreary to look at.’

nisi...sit] I take the view, held by two or three German editors, that these words (whether we adopt *cui* or read *si*) apply to *tristem cultu aspectuque* only, for the following reasons, (1) if *nisi...sit* applied to the whole sentence, then the proposition must be a general one, applicable to the time at which T. is writing. But (a) in that case T. would surely have written *petat*, cf. Roby II. § 1538, (b) this sentence evidently, as *porro* amongst other things shows, gives another reason why the Germans had not received admixture of foreign blood in former times (*olim*). The imperfect therefore, as one would expect on grammatical grounds, must be historical. (2) If we take *nisi...sit* to qualify the whole sentence, *peteret* must be rendered ‘to strive for,’ ‘make an object of desire,’ almost ‘choose’ or ‘cling to,’ so as to include natives of Germany in *quis*; *relicta* must also be rendered ‘disregarding’ for the same reason; both these renderings seem strained and unnatural; *peteret* surely means ‘seek’ in the sense of ‘visit,’ and *relicta* literally ‘leaving.’ The argument seems to be, “the Germans must be indigenous and unmixed because (1) migrations in old times were made by sea as a rule, and the sea by which immigrants would have had to travel is one which even now is rarely visited from our side of the world, (2) the country was one which offered no temptation to leave other countries, possessing as it did no attractions except for a native.”

nisi of course is in any case adverb ‘except,’ ‘except any one who,’ or ‘except on the supposition that.’

- 7 *celebrant*] sc. *Germani*.

carminibus] the oldest poems which have come down to us are the alliterative poems in the Anglo-Saxon dialect (such as *Beowulf*, the longest of them) “which there is no good reason for supposing were essentially different from those of the time of Tacitus...the subject of these is what the present statement of T. leads us to expect. The deeds of great warriors are narrated.” Latham.

antiquis] the antiquity (in T.’s time) of these poems is important, as giving evidence from old times of the autochthony of the people.

- 8 *memoriae et annalium*] ‘recording and annals’ = ‘historical records’; hendiadys, of the form in which one word practically serves as adjective to the other. The other form of hendiadys in Tacitus is that in which the second word defines the first.

Tuistonem] “appears in a definite unequivocal shape nowhere amongst any of the Germanic or Saxon forms of heathendom: nor yet in the Edda. So exclusively does the notice of him begin and end with Tacitus, that it looks as if either the German creeds had changed between the second and fifth centuries, or as if the Germans of Tacitus were not the Germans of subsequent history.” Latham. The difficulties connected with the name are increased by the variety of forms which appear in the MSS., *Tuisto*, *Tuisco*, *Teuto*. All apparently that can be said about it is that if *Tuisto* (the best attested form) is right it is a name for the supreme deity, formed from the root *tiu*=God.

- 9 *Mannus*] seems to contain the word ‘man,’ so that all that T. tells us about this ancient mythology or theogony of the Germans is that they recognised a supreme God, who was the father of the first man, from whom the German race descended. Nothing really trustworthy can be added to this.

originem conditoresque] not hendiadys. The two ideas are distinct. *origo* merely implies the source from which the people sprung, their progenitors, *conditores* the founders, those who laid the foundation of the people as the German people with all the characteristics that belonged to it, as such. *gens* is the whole number of people claiming a common origin and included under a common name.

- 10 *filios*] it seems probable that the three names contained in the Gentile names which follow originally represented attributes of German deities, and that these attribute-names used in forming the tribal appellations came to be regarded as individual names representing children of a god or gods, who were ancestors of the tribes in question. A summary of the speculations on the subject will be found in Baumstark. Latham is probably about right when he says, “It may safely be said that the *carmina antiqua* that explain any part of the mythology in a satisfactory form are as thoroughly lost as the mythology which suggested the *carmina antiqua*.”

- 12 *quidam*] ‘some taking the liberty antiquity allows, allege more sons of the god and (corresponding to them) more appellations of the nation, such as Marsi, Gambriuii, Suebi, Vandili, and these they affirm to be real as well as ancient names.’ The meaning of this seems to be that whereas the old songs gave only three divine eponyms and three branches of the German stock named after them, some people maintained that the number of such divine eponyms was larger, and the original branches of the German stock named after divine beings more numerous. These other names they affirmed to be true or real German names, as old as the

others, and showing as much as they did descent from the original founder of the German nation. The four names given may be meant to be the whole of the *plures*, but more probably they are used typically as examples of the *plures*. *vera et antiqua*, real, existing as well as ancient names, whereas the others were ancient names only, known only by tradition: whether *deo* be taken as 'the god' (Tuisco or Mannus) or 'a god,' in which case *deo ortos* would mean 'sons of gods' generally, seems a matter of no great importance. It is a question who are meant by *quidam*. I adopt the view that Roman antiquarians are meant, not Germans. For the construction of the sentence is carried on into the next, which seems certainly to contain a Roman opinion (see note on l. 19), and if *quidam* is understood of Germans it seems almost necessary to take *eaque...nomina* as words interposed by T. himself, understanding *sunt* instead of *esse* and taking *que*=strong *et* ('and in fact those are actually existing and ancient names'). On the other view *quidam* will be Roman savans, like Pliny the elder, who wrote a history of the German wars in 20 books, Suet. *Vit. Plin.*, Tac. *Ann.* i. 69, and who had himself served in Germany. The view stated here however can hardly have been derived from Pliny, as he gives, *N. H.* iv. 14, a division of the Germans into five branches with subdivisions, which does not correspond to the account given here.

ut in licentia vetustatis] lit. 'as is natural (or possible) in the license afforded by remoteness of time,' i.e. taking a freedom of assertion which is possible in dealing with questions of remote antiquity.

- 13 *Marsos*] a people dwelling between the Luppia (Lippe) and the Ruhr, were defeated by Germanicus A.D. 15, after which their name disappeared.

Gambrivios] only once mentioned elsewhere, by Strabo. Their name also disappeared after the campaigns of Germanicus. The name seems etymologically connected with that of the *Sigambri*, which was perhaps a collective name, including the Gambrivii, Marsi and other tribes in the same district.

Suebos] cf. c. 38.

- 14 *Vandilios*] a people of E. and N.E. Germany connected with the Lygii, according to Pliny one of the branches of the German nation, including several tribes, Burgodiones, Varinnae, Charini, Gutones. Their name appears later as that of one of the Teutonic federations that at the beginning of Diocletian's reign threatened the Roman empire.

ceterum &c.] 'but as for the name Germany, that (they say) is a modern appellation of recent origin, due to the fact that those who first

crossed the Rhine, and are now called *Tungri*, were then called *Germani*; under these circumstances what was the name not of the nation but of one tribe gradually prevailed, and the name *Germani* first arbitrarily applied to the whole nation by the conquering tribe to inspire fear, was presently adopted by the other members of the nation.'

ceterum has its original sense, 'for the rest,' 'moreover' (Livy ix. 33. 1), but with an adversative force as well.

15 *recens* and *nuper*] are opposed to *antiqua* in the preceding.

17 *Tungri*] *vocentur* must be supplied to *qui*, cf. c. 36.
nationis, gentis] see above, l. 9.

18 *ob metum*] 'to inspire fear' in the Gauls by representing themselves as one part only of the great people on the other side, to whom they could appeal, if necessary, for reinforcement.

19 *mox*] = *postea*, cf. c. 34, l. 28.

a se ipsis] not to be construed with *invento* but with *vocarentur*.
invento] 'by the invented (arbitrarily imposed) name *Germani*.'

Tacitus' account of the origin of the name *Germani* is clearly a Roman one, and clearly wrong, as is sufficiently proved by the one fact that the Germans have never called themselves by that name. Before the name by which they know themselves now, *Deutsche*, came into use, no common collective term seems to have been used by the Germans of themselves. The name *Germani* was the name by which the Romans knew them. And the Romans seem to have borrowed the name from the Gauls. The word (variously explained as 'neighbours' and as $\beta\omicron\eta\eta\upsilon\alpha\gamma\alpha\theta\omicron\iota$), from which the Roman term *Germani* was formed, was one apparently applied by Kelts to peoples with whom they found themselves in contact on their borders, but whom they did not recognise as of the same blood as themselves. Thus we find in Spain a people called *Oretani* with a town *Oretum* near the mod. Granatula. These acc. to Pliny were also called *Germani*, for which name there seems no means of accounting except on the supposition that it was given them by their Keltic neighbours.

In N. Gaul in Caesar's time, there were four peoples to whom the collective name *Germani* was applied, *B. G.* II. 4, VI. 32. These are called by Caesar *Germani cis Rhenum*, *Cisrhenani*, and so distinguished by him from the Germans on the other side of the Rhine. All linguistic evidence points to the conclusion that these peoples (though not recognised by the Gauls as their kinsmen) were of Keltic and not of Teutonic origin, and that seems also to have been Caesar's opinion about them, in spite of the statements made to him by the Remi, II. 3; cf. I. 1, V. 27.

It is evident that at least as early as Caesar's time the name was applied to the peoples on the right side of the Rhine as well as to the Cisrhenane peoples mentioned above. After Caesar's time the name *Germani* disappeared from N. Gaul. This was due to the exterminating war carried on against the Eburones in B.C. 53, and also to the bringing of the people together under the Roman organisation. The name was then confined as a collective name applied to all generally in addition to their individual tribe names, to the people on the other side of the Rhine.

CHAPTER III.

- 21 *Herculem*] cf. c. 34; in c. 9, where T. is speaking of the religion of the Germans, he calls the German Hercules a god. It seems natural to identify the Hercules here with the Hercules there, in which case a god would be meant here also. This god commentators generally suppose to be Donar or Thor identified with the Roman Hercules, not from similarity of name, but from similarity of attributes. But the supposition that T. here means a god is at variance with the perfect *fuisse*, and also with the word *virorum*. *fuisse* surely must mean 'that Hercules once was among them,' not 'that Hercules is one of their gods.' I am inclined therefore to think that the Romans found, or thought they found, some name mentioned and honoured among the Germans or some tribes of them, which suggested the name Hercules, and led them to add this visit to his travels; in any case T. must be thinking here of Hercules the *hero*, while in c. 9 he apparently means Hercules the *god*. *et* as well as the god-born heroes mentioned above.

memorant] most of the modern editors understand *quidam* of c. 2 (that is, Roman antiquarians) to be the subject here also, and the use of *eos* instead of *se* certainly seems to point to the same conclusion, though T. does sometimes use *eum* for *se*. With this interpretation, we must take *primumque...canunt* to be a statement of T.'s own, otherwise it would be *canere* and *ituros*, for the natives must be the subject to *canunt*. I believe myself that the Germans are the subject to *memorant*, and I would point out that in that case *memorant* and *quidam opinantur* exactly correspond to *celebrant* and *quidam...adfirmant* above.

primum] either 'first in a series of heroes' or (better) 'as foremost among heroes.'

- 23 *haec*] 'these (the songs implied in *canunt*) also are the songs in use amongst them, by the peculiar performance of which, &c. they fire their courage.'

quoque] they are used for this purpose as well as for the praise of Hercules.

Müllenhof is very, and Baumstark even contemptuously positive that the songs to which the *barditus* refers were different from the Hercules songs, but, if so, it is very difficult to render *haec* which ought to be *illa*. Such a use of *hic*, though asserted by some, amongst others even by the imperious Baumstark, is nevertheless doubtful.

relatu] a late word, not used before the elder Pliny. It means here 'delivery,' 'manner of singing.'

barditum] this apparently has nothing to do with the Keltic word 'bard,' but means either 'shield-singing' from a Scandinavian word, or 'beard-singing' from the O. G. word *bards*, 'a beard.' Those who adopt the latter derivation render it 'thunder-singing,' connecting it with the beard of Donar or Thor, with which he was said to produce the thunderstorm when he was angry. *Barditum* (complement to *quem*, to which *relatu* is antecedent) is clearly, as T. understood it, not a song or set of songs, but a mode of singing. At a later period *barritus*, a corrupted form of *barditus* was used of the war cry in barbarian and also in Roman armies.

- 25 *trepidant*] a variant for the passive of *terreo*, 'they inspire fear or feel it,' 'they are terrible or timid.'

sonuit] 'according as the line has sounded'='according to the sound produced along the line,' cf. *Hist.* IV. 18 *ut virorum cantu feminarum ululatu sonuit acies*.

- 26 *vocis*] either a descriptive genitive, 'voice-harmony,' or more probably T. uses the singular instead of the plural because of the unity expressed in *concentus*, 'a unison of valour rather than of voice.'

- 28 *repercussu*] a late word, 'that the voices may swell by resonance into a fuller volume of deep sounding music.'

- 29 *ceterum*] resumptive. What follows is continued from the first sentence of the chapter.

Ulixen] According to Solinus, author of a geographical compendium of uncertain date, similar traces of Ulysses were found in Caledonia, *Ulixem Caledoniae appulsum manifestat ara Graecis literis inscripta voto*.

Müllenhof suggests that the Romans may have found a Keltic name Ulohoxis connected with a town on the Rhine bearing the German name Askeburg, and jumped to the conclusion that this must be the Greek Ulixes. Further they may have found the original Keltic name of the town recorded, bearing some similarity to the name Ulixes, such

as, e.g. Olisia or Olixia, and concluded that the town was founded and named by Ulysses. It is highly probable that some such name has fallen out after *nominatumque*. It is hardly likely that T. would mean that Ulysses gave the evidently German sounding name Asceburgium (the connexion with ἀσκός is very improbable) to a town he founded, and as a matter of fact the MSS. show a lacuna after the word, filled up in one with the evident guess Ἀσκιπύργιον. If they found also an inscription with a name in it that could be twisted into similarity with Laertes, and further some Greek looking characters on some monuments, they would feel their conjecture confirmed into a certainty.

illo] 'those famous wanderings.'

- 30 *fabuloso*] not 'fabulous' in our sense, but 'celebrated in story,' so *fabulosus Hydraspes*, Horace, *Od.* I. 22. 7, *fabulosae palumbes*, III. 4. 9, *montem Africae vel fabulosissimum Atlantem*, Pliny, *N. H.* v. 1.

hunc] 'this' that we have under contemplation. So Cic. *de Leg.* II. 26 has *amplitudines sepulcrorum, quas in Ceramico videmus*, and c. 20 of this book, *haec corpora*.

- 31 *Asceburgium*] mentioned *Hist.* IV. 33 as containing the winter quarters of a squadron of cavalry. It lay probably on the site of the mod. Asberg near Mörs. In T.'s time probably the river came nearer to Asberg than it does now. The name means apparently Shiptown, from Ask, the ash, used in ship building.

hodieque] 'even at the present time'; the use of *hodieque* = *hodie quoque* begins with post-Augustan writers; it is not found in Livy.

- 33 *quin etiam*] placed contrary to earlier prose usage after the first word, cf. Verg. *Aen.* VIII. 485.

- p. 33. 1 *monumenta et tumulos*] hendiadys, 'barrow monuments,' cf. c. 2.

- 2 *Graecis*] may be really Greek characters, for we find that the Gauls used the Greek alphabet to a certain extent, and Germans who came into contact with foreigners may have done the same. But more probably the characters were Etruscan. The Raeti spoke Etruscan down to historical times, and the Etruscan alphabet was nearly related to the Greek. The inscriptions, it should be noticed, are represented as confirming not originating the theory about Ulysses.

- 5 *fidem*] *fidem demere* and *addere* would ordinarily mean to take away or add grounds of belief from or to the object in question, to discredit or accredit it, cf. *Ann.* IV. 9, *Hist.* II. 50, and if they have that meaning here they correspond to *refellere* and *confirmare* in the preceding sentence. But that rendering involves translating *ex ingenio suo*, 'accord-

ing to his powers of mind,' whereas the natural meaning of the phrase is 'according to his inclination' or 'turn of mind,' cf. Livy III. 36 (comp. also III. 33). So that probably T. means *fidem* to be taken subjectively here, 'must withhold or give credence.' Ovid *Rem. Am.* 290 is probably (though not necessarily) parallel *deme veneficiis carminibusque fidem*.

CHAPTER IV.

- 7 *propriam*] 'distinct,' cf. c. 38, l. 26.
 8 *sinceram*] 'pure,' 'unmixed,' cf. Suet. *Octav.* 40. 18.
tantum sui similem] 'only like itself' = with a character entirely its own, not shared by any other people.
 9 *quamquam*] without a verb is found in Livy, and (very rarely) in Cicero.
 11 *rutilae*] cf. Pliny *N. H.* 28. 191, Martial 14. 26. Though etymologically connected with Sanscrit, Greek and Latin words meaning simply 'red,' this word seems in usage to have acquired the meaning 'flashing,' 'fiery,' e.g. *rutilus armorum fulgor*. Applied to the hair, it seems to express not what we call red hair simply, but rather a bright or warm flaxen or auburn. The peculiar brightness or gloss was, acc. to Pliny l. c. (cf. Martial l. c. and Ammian. Marcell. 27. 2. 2), heightened artificially by the use of a composition of fat and wood ashes (*sāpo*). The process was expressed by *rutilare comas*.
 12 *patientia*] prob. subst. cf. c. 23 *adversus sitim non eadem temperantia*, *Ann.* II. 14 *nulla vulnere patientia*, in which case *eadem* = equal, or proportionate to their strength.
 13 *caelo solove*] abl. of cause; *ve* not *que* probably because either cause would be sufficient; *minime* applies to *sitim aestumque* only, the asyndetism expresses contrast; *tolerare* must be supplied in the second clause, 'quite unaccustomed to bear thirst and heat, cold and hunger they are accustomed to bear by reason of their climate or soil.' I think it quite possible that T. wrote *que* not *ve*, the corruption is common. It is just possible that *frigora inediaque* are governed by *adsueverunt*, cf. Verg. *Aen.* VI. 833.

CHAPTER V.

- 16 *specie*] there is no opposition between this and *universum*; it only means the appearance of the country in different parts of it.
 17 *horrida*] 'wild,' partly literal, expressing the appearance of the forests,

but including the effect produced on the feelings by what is *horridus* in aspect, as Vergil frequently uses the word.

foeda] adapted to *paludibus*, as *horrida* to *silvis*, 'full of wild forests and foul swamps.'

19 *inpatiens*] This use of *patiens* and *inpatiens*, 'capable of producing,' is a poetic use adopted by Livy and later prose writers.

20 *improcera*] sc. *pecora sunt*, the change of subject is more probable than such a phrase as *pecorum improcera*.

ne...gloria frontis] a poetic way of expressing 'short-horned' or 'hornless.'

22 *argentum...dubito*] a condensed expression. T. means 'the gods have denied the Germans these metals, whether in kindness or anger I do not attempt to decide.'

25 *perinde*] absolute use 'not particularly,' cf. *Agric.* c. 10, Suet. *Galba* 13. The use is post-classical.

est] with the infin. 'it is possible,' a poetic and late prose construction.

27 *non in alia* &c.] 'as little regarded as pottery ware.'

28 *quamquam*] the retrospective use introducing a drawback to the previous statement. The opinion stated here is somewhat at variance with what is said in c. 15 as well as with what is stated by other authors, e.g. Caesar *B. G.* vi. 28, Florus IV. 12.

proximi] sc. *Romanis*.

usum] 'the requirements.' *commerciorum*, the plural is commonly used on account of the plurality implied in commercial intercourse.

30 *eligunt*] 'show preference for.'

31 *permutatione mercium*] 'barter.'

pecuniam &c.] 'the money which they pass is the old, &c.'

probant] δοκιμάζουσι, 'accept,' 'allow to pass.'

veterem et diu notam] *vetus* is commonly used under the Empire of republican times, and does not imply necessarily any great antiquity. It is often perhaps 'old-fashioned' rather than 'old.' It is used here from the point of view of the Roman reader, whereas *diu notam* represents the feeling of the Germans about the coinage. The Germans began to be acquainted with Roman money from the time of the Romanising of Gaul.

32 *serratos*] with notched edges, like our silver and gold coins.

bigatos] i.e. *denarii* of about the second century B.C. Silver coinage (*denarius*, *quinarius* and *sestertius*) dated from B.C. 269. The earliest coins bore on the reverse the Dioscuri, later they bore a Diana or Victoria in a *biga*: later still, Jupiter in a *quadriga*. Under the Empire the

devices were various. The Republican *denarii* were $\frac{1}{7}$ of an ounce, the Neronian were $\frac{1}{8}$, and were alloyed with copper as well. Notching coins began early but was not universal. It seems to have been commonest in the last century of the Republic. The Germans seem to have preferred these old *serrati bigatique* even to later coins of equal value, partly for old acquaintance sake, but also because they could be most readily distinguished from the light alloyed Neronian coins. This is the only place however in a Roman author in which *serratus* is used as an indication of date. It is a question whether the words *serratos bigatosque* are not an interpolation. *veterem* would probably be sufficient to convey T.'s meaning to Roman readers.

p. 34. 1 *nulla* &c.] 'not as a matter of taste.'

CHAPTER VI.

- 7 *ne ferrum quidem*] referring to *aurum*, *argentum*, &c.
superest] 'there is no abundance.'
- 8 *rari*] 'few,' 'only one here and there.' Cf. Verg. *Aen.* I. 118.
maioribus] applies here apparently to the iron heads. The Germans used lances with long shafts, *Ann.* I. 64, II. 14.
- 12 *spargunt*] poetical, cf. Verg. *Aen.* VII. 687, VIII. 695.
sagulo leves] 'light by reason of a *sagulum*' = 'lightly clad in a single short cloak.' The abl. is Vergilian, practically equivalent to an adjectival or participial phrase, cf. *sublimem alis* 'high by means of wings' = 'flying high in air.'
- sagulum*, a German garment most nearly represented by the Roman military cloak.
- 14 *iactatio*] display, *cultus*, ornament.
- 15 *paucis*] cf. *Ann.* II. 14 *non loricam Germano, non galeam. cassis*] the metal, *galea*, the leather helmet.
- 16 *sed nec*] here used as *sed et*, is frequently used by Tacitus and Suetonius with *non modo* implied but not expressed in what precedes. As the sentence here is negative *sed nec* (= *sed ne...quidem*) is substituted for *sed et*; the full construction would be *non modo conspicui*, &c. *sed ne variare quidem*. In this usage *sed et* does little more than add a fact with some little emphasis to what precedes, cf. c. 17 *sed et proxima pars pectoris patet*. This usage does not occur in prose before writers of the silver age; some supposed instances in Cicero and Caesar have been otherwise explained. *Sed* alone is used with a similar

ellipse in late Latin, e.g. Martial I. 43 *et scalis habito tribus sed altis*; this latter usage, being found also in Plautus, is probably colloquial.

- 17 *gyros*] a Greek word used by the Romans to express the evolutions (circles executed right and left, volts, figures of eight) performed by practised riders on trained horses, and utilised in military riding; *variare gyros*, 'to perform complicated figures.' Cf. Horace, *Od.* III. 7. 25.

in rectum] 'straight forward.'

- 18 *uno flexu*] 'with one mode of wheeling to the right,' that is to say, the only movement beyond straight forward riding that the Germans were acquainted with was the wheeling of one or more lines of riders in a circle round a centre from left to right.

ita coniuncto orbe] 'keeping the line of wheeling so unbroken.' *orbis* here is the wheeling body, describing the circle, the members of which move at different paces in proportion to their distance from the centre, so as to keep their line unbroken.

- 19 *aestimanti*] an imitation of the Greek idiom sometimes called the dative absolute, first used by Caesar, e.g. *B. C.* III. 80 in the description of a locality, and so frequently by Livy, e.g. I. 8. 5 *descendentibus inter duos lucos est*; the latter however uses it also generally to express a judgment, as do Tacitus and later writers.

- 20 *eoque*] 'and therefore.' *eo*=*ideo* as frequently in Tacitus, but always in combination with *que*.

- 21 *peditum*] not the infantry generally, but a part of them expressed by *quos...locant*. The mode of fighting is more fully described by Caesar, *B. G.* I. 48.

- 22 *centeni*] whatever the exact meaning of this passage may be, it is clear that T. is not speaking of the whole army, but of the select portion of it mentioned above, otherwise *nomen et honor* would be meaningless. The 'hundred' (in one of its many applications in German life) was evidently the title of these select warriors (including probably both cavalry and infantry), who formed the flower of the army, 'hundred-men.' It is not necessary to assume that the number was always exactly the same. In fact T. implies that it was not; what was originally an indication of number, had become, he says, a title of distinction. If we assume 100 to 120 *pagi* as contributories to one army, then 120 to 100 soldiers from each would give the 12000 that Caesar speaks of as the number in one army of these select troops; but as the distinction increased, the number would probably decrease. As long however as the exact signification of *pagus* is unknown, no trust-

worthy conclusion can be drawn as to the exact meaning of this passage. On *pagus* see Stubbs I. 31.

- 24 *acies*] the army generally; the 100 fought *ante aciem*.

per cuneos] modal adv. 'in wedge-formation,' cf. *Ann.* II. 45. In Livy this modal use of *per* is confined to abstract substantives. This battle-formation is alluded to c. 7, *Hist.* IV. 16, V. 16. The different tribe-contingents appear to have been formed in wedges, all the separate wedges forming one large wedge. The Germans appear to have called it 'boar-formation' from the similarity to a boar's head.

- 25 *instes*] indefinite use of the second person = 'one,' of which Tacitus is very fond, 'as long as one returns to the charge.'

- 26 *quam*] this omission of *potius* or *magis* is not unfrequent in Tacitus, cf. *Ann.* I. 58. 6 *pacem quam bellum parabant*. It appears occasionally in Livy, and is probably a colloquialism.

corpora] 'corpses.'

- 27 *dubiis*] not so much 'undecided,' but rather as *etiam* seems to indicate, 'not decidedly successful,' a mild way of expressing unsuccessful, though not disastrously so, cf. *dubiae res*.

- 28 *concilium*] is evidently quite general 'any assembly,' the disgraced man suffered political and religious excommunication.

CHAPTER VII.

- 30 *ex*] 'according to,' 'by,' so *e republica* (Cic. and Livy), *ex dignitate nostra statues* (Cic.), *ex sententia*, and the like; that this is the force of *ex* here is pretty clear from the corresponding *ex virtute*, and if so, the meaning would seem to be that kings were not chosen simply out of the *nobiles* (as some take it, e.g. Stubbs *C. H.* I. 27), but from the noblest of the *nobiles*. From c. 42, l. 29 it is clear that in some tribes the succession was confined to one family. On the powers of the German kings and the difference of constitution in different tribes see Stubbs I. 26—28.

duces] leaders in war; there was nothing apparently to prevent the king from being elected general, if he was qualified; but the *dux* was supreme if not sole commander in war.

sumunt] a somewhat vague word, not probably implying formal election; but it seems clear that whoever was 'taken' was taken with the consent of the people.

T.'s account of the kingly power is very negative. No doubt the regal authority varied in different tribes. Vell. Pat. II. 108 seems to

describe the ordinary German kingship by contrast to that of Maroboduus as *tumultuarius, mobilis et ex voluntate parentium constans principatus*.

nec...et] 'as the power of the kings is not absolute and unlimited, so the generals maintain their position by (the influence of) example rather than by (the exercise of) authority, by the admiration in fact which presence of mind, conspicuous gallantry, a foremost place in the battlefield inspire.

Caesar says VI. 23 that these generals in time of war had the power of life and death.

- 32 *agant*] cf. *Agric.* c. 18. The subj. is the subj. of purely hypothetical protasis, simply stating the condition required for admiration, not contemplating the action of definite persons.

p. 35. 1 *admiratione*] is in loose apposition to *exemplo*, another way of expressing it as the admiration resulting from the qualities expressed by *si...agant*.

ceterum] used here, as frequently in the comedians, in its primary sense 'for the rest,' 'moreover,' cf. *Livy* IX. 33. 1.

- 3 *non quasi in poenam*] 'and by them inflicted not by way of punishment, or by order from the general, but as the execution of an order from the god.'

in] is consecutive, cf. *Agric.* c. 6, l. 26, *Germ.* c. 40, l. 26.

- 4 *effigies*] prob. images of sacred animals, such as the wolf sacred to Wodan. *signa*, symbols. Cf. c. 9, l. 31.

- 7 *cuneum*] a division of foot-soldiers as opposed to *turmam*.

- 8 *pignora*] the poetic and post-Augustan sense of near blood relations, especially children. Cf. *Agric.* c. 38, l. 6.

unde] relative to *in proximo*.

- 9 *ululatus*] used (as *ὀλολυγμός*) specially of the cries of women expressing various emotions, not grief only. Caesar uses the word of the cry of men as well as women in and before battle, *B. G.* V. 37, VII. 80, as does *Livy* XXXVII. 17; generally the *ululatus* of women in battle is distinguished from the *cantus* of men.

audiri] the use of the historic infinitive in a subordinate clause occurs in *Livy* and in *Tacitus*, cf. *Ann.* II. 31, *Hist.* III. 31. T. speaks as if the scene were before him; perhaps he had *Verg.* VI. 557 in his mind *hinc exaudiri gemitus, et saeva sonare verbera*.

hi] *testis* is so regularly a masculine word that T. uses the masculine gender though speaking of women, and attracts the pronoun according to the regular idiom into the same gender. Cf. c. 28, l. 28.

sanctissimi] compare c. 8 *feminis inesse sanctum aliquod*, they are the most 'sacred' or 'solemn' witnesses, on account of the religious regard for women among the Germans.

10 *maximi*] i.e. most important, most highly regarded.

11 *ferunt*] for them to admire.

exigere] 'to examine closely,' 'estimate,' 'criticise,' a classical use of the word; the women not only counted the number of the wounds, but examined the nature, estimated the importance of them. The women acted as surgeons, but that is not T.'s point here; rather the fortitude with which they gave the men credit for their wounds.

12 *gestant*] T. is fond of combining concrete and abstract in the same phrase, but the result here is very harsh, *gestant* being utterly unsuitable to *hortamina*, unless it were possible to understand by the latter word material encouragements, beer, for example. The frequentative implies the going to and fro as occasion required.

CHAPTER VIII.

13 *inclinatas*] 'wavering,' the common metaphor from the turn of a scale.

14 *labantes*] 'giving way.'

obiectu pectorum] this 'presenting of the breasts' may either mean an appeal to sons and husbands from mothers and wives by the breasts that had suckled them or their children; or that the women presented their bosoms to the men asking to be killed rather than allowed to become captives.

15 *comminus*] 'close at hand,' really qualifies *captivitate* rather than *monstrata*, cf. *Agric.* c. 9, l. 29. This general use of the word with no notion of contest is post-classical.

16 *impatientius*] 'they feel a more intolerable fear,' lit. 'fear with less power to bear (the fear),' the adverb though grammatically qualifying the predicate, in sense expresses an attribute of the subject, cf. *Livy* XXVII. 28. 3 *sagaciter moti sunt*.

18 *nobiles*] hostages were naturally always taken from the families of highest rank. In the case of the Germans, T. says, the effect was greater if high-born girls as well as high-born men were taken as hostages.

quin etiam] cf. c. 3, l. 33.

sanctum] if the aphasia of modern society had not practically robbed the English language of the word 'awful,' it would just express *sanctum* here; the word means something commanding awe as being specially under the protection of, countenanced by the gods, as tribunes at Rome were *sancti* because they were protected by religious sanctions.

- 19 *providum*] cf. *Hist.* IV. 61, Caesar *B. G.* I. 50.
- 21 *Velaedam*] cf. *Hist.* IV. 61, 65. According to Statius *Silv.* I. iv. 90 the name was pronounced Vēlēda, *captivæque preces Veledæ. numinis*] 'a divine being.'
loco] 'as.' *habitam*, 'regarded.'
sed et] cf. c. 6, l. 16.
- 22 *Albrunam*] nothing is known of this woman; the form of her name is uncertain; that in the text is a conjectural emendation of the spelling of the MSS. and means 'one who is gifted with mysterious powers.'
alias] Gauna a prophetess is mentioned by Dio Cassius as flourishing in the reign of Domitian after Vēleda, but she can hardly have been in T.'s mind here, as *olim* 'in former times' is clearly opposed to *vidimus* 'we have seen in our times.' Suet. *Claudius* c. 1 mentions a German woman *humana amplior* who met Claudius and forbade him in the Latin language to carry his arms further.
- 23 *facere*] 'not with the idea (with any pretence) of making goddesses.' The meaning is that the Germans regarded these women as endowed with supernatural powers in accordance with the traditional belief of their nation, and treated them with religious veneration accordingly. There was nothing like the Roman deification of women by way of adulation and compliment, as, for example, when the senate pronounced Drusilla, Caligula's sister, a goddess. The Germans acknowledged divine powers, but did not suppose they could make them.

CHAPTER IX.

- 25 *Mercurium*] Paulus Diaconus, author of a history of the Lombards in the beginning of the 9th century, says *Wodan...ipse est qui apud Romanos Mercurius dicitur*. Caesar *B. G.* VI. 17 says the same of the Gauls as T. says here of the Germans. The identification may have been due to similarity of attributes, cf. c. 43, but Latham gives reasons for supposing that the Romans may have found in Germany in the names Marcom and Irmin names sufficiently like Mercury and Hermes to lead to the identification. Compare Cox, *Mythology* &c., v. ii. p. 19.
- 26 *humanis*] cf. c. 40, *Ann.* I. 61, XIII. 57, from which passages, as well as from other writers, it appears that human sacrifices were not confined to the worship of Mercury. The victims appear to have been slaves, criminals, or captives taken in war.
litare] with dative to propitiate or appease, as in Cic. *pro Flacco* 38.
96 *litemus Lentulo*.

Herculem] cf. c. 3, l. 21. As no German deity can be discovered with a name like Hercules, we are forced to suppose that the identification here is by similarity of attributes. The German god meant is probably Thor, whose hammer might suggest the club of Hercules.

Martem] as a god Ear, apparently a god of war, appears in Saxon mythology, it is possible that the identification here may be by name as well as by attributes. Latham *in loc.*

27 *concessis*] is probably to be understood as opposed to *humanis* 'allowed by ordinary usage,' 'legitimate,' cf. *Ann.* XIV. 21 *studiis honestis et voluptatibus concessis*.

Isidi] this goddess has been variously identified with Frigg, wife of Wodan, and Nerthus. Latham following Grimm shows reason for identifying her with a goddess Ziza worshipped in the parts about Augsburg. T. himself argues from her symbol that she and her name were imported into Germany, but whether because the shape of the vessel was foreign to the Germans, or simply because the symbol of a ship implied importation, or both is not clear. In other countries also Isis was represented sitting in a boat.

28 *causa*] sc. *sit*.

29 *nisi*] cf. *Agric.* c. 6, l. 18.

ipsum] = *per se*, the symbol itself irrespective of other considerations.

liburnae] a small vessel built for speed on the model of the pirate boats used in former times by the Illyrian people, the Liburni, Horace *Epod.* I. 1, *Odes* I. 37. 30.

30 *ceterum*] dismissive, 'however,' 'to continue,' cf. *Livy* IX. 15. 9, VI. 1. 4.

31 *ex*] cf. *Agric.* c. 40, l. 16.

p. 36. I *deorumque* &c.] 'they give the names of gods to that mystic power which they see with the eye of adoration only.' The meaning is, they have no images of gods, no built temples; they worship the supernatural something which they believe inhabits the consecrated groves and woods, and to this they give the names of different gods in different groves. For instances of such groves see c. 40, *Ann.* I. 51, II. 12.

secretum] is explained by *quod...vident*; it is something felt, but not seen, with an additional implication of something mysterious and supernatural. On the effect of woods assisting such a feeling cf. *Seneca Epp.* 41 *si tibi occurrit vetustis arboribus et solitam altitudinem egressis frequens lucus, illa proceritas silvae et secretum loci et admiratio umbrae fidem numinis facit*; Wordsworth, 'Nutting,' 'for there is a spirit in the woods.'

CHAPTER X.

3 *auspicia*] used in quite a general sense here, 'divination,' i.e. using means to look into the future.

sortes] 'augury by lot,' the word is used in the oracular sense which it frequently has, but with the notion of actual lot-casting.

ut qui maxime] strictly an elliptical comparison is practically a superlative adverb, Cic. *ad Div.* XIII. 63 *te semper colam et tuebor, ut quem diligentissime.*

5 *surculos*] short sticks.

8 *caelum suspiciens*] so that he could exercise no choice, but took the sticks as they came to his hand.

10 *prohibuerunt*] sc. *sortes*.

nulla] contrary to the Roman practice who went on divining till they could get, if possible, a favorable omen.

in eundem diem] instead of *eodem die*, because of the idea of the time over which the prohibition extended.

11 *fides*] 'the trustworthiness of the auspices is further carefully tested,' i.e. further means are adopted to make sure that the result of the auspice-taking can be relied upon; for *exigitur* cf. c. 7, l. 11.

adhuc] cf. *Agric.* c. 33, l. 20; the other means may be those mentioned in the next passage, but T. does not say so. *et illud quidem* introduces the fact that divination by animals also in the ways known to the Romans was practised among the Germans, in opposition to the special mode of horse-divination peculiar to themselves. For the use of *et...quidem* introducing the first clause of a concessive sentence with or without *tamen* following, cf. *Livy* II. 2. 9.

12 *avium...interrogare*] in apposition to *illud*.

14 *isdem*] the same as were mentioned above c. 9, l. 32.

15 *contacti*] implies pollution, cf. *Dialog.* c. 12 *nullis contacta vitiis pectora.*

16 *pressos*] a poetical way of expressing *iunctos*, cf. *Ovid Met.* I. 124 *pressique iugo gemuere iuveni.*

23 *committunt*] 'set to fight,' cf. *Suet. Aug.* 45 *pugiles Latinos committere cum Graecis solebat.*

24 *praeiudicio*] for this general application of the legal term cf. *Caesar B. G.* II. 32 *belli Africi praeiudicia sequimini.*

CHAPTER XI.

26 *principes*] elective magistrates (but very possibly eligibility for the magistracy was an hereditary privilege of certain families, cf. c. 13, l. 1)

who administered justice in their respective *pagi* (c. 12, l. 21), and in war fought each at the head of his *comitatus* (c. 13). In monarchical tribes, their administrative powers would vary according to the personal power of the king. In non-monarchical states, they formed collectively the chief magistracy, meeting to dispose of matters of less importance, and of ordinary routine, on their own authority, and preparing business for the national council, Stubbs *C. H.* v. 1, pp. 27—29. Some authorities take the *principes* here to be the *nobiles* generally.

maioribus] would be mainly questions of peace and war, elections of magistrates, and trials of important offences.

- 27 *ita...ut*] 'everything however which, &c., being, &c.,' lit. 'on such conditions, that, &c.,' the very common restrictive or modifying use of *ita...ut*.

plebem] simply the whole body of citizens as opposed to the *principes*.

- 32 *noctium*] See for a similar custom among the Gauls Caesar *B. G.* vi. 18, and compare our 'sevensnight' and 'fortnight.'

sic] 'this rule they observe in making appointments and settling times'; both words are used here not in their legal, but in a general sense.

- p. 37. 2 *ut iussi*] 'as in obedience to an order.'

- 3 *turba*] 'when the numbers are deemed sufficient,' lit. 'when the number is satisfactory.'

- 6 *nobilitas*] of birth, that is.

- 7 *audiuntur*] 'get a hearing.' *auctoritate, potestate*, abl. of means. *auctoritate suadendi*] 'influence of argument.'

- 8 *iubendi potestate*] 'authority to command.'

CHAPTER XII.

- 16 *tamquam*] cf. c. 39, Pliny, *Paneg.* 59 *illam interpretationem habet tamquam. illuc* anticipates *tamquam...oporteat*, which states a real not imaginary purpose or meaning in the form of punishment, cf. *Agric.* c. 16, l. 19.

- 17 *scelera*] crimes, as offences against the community, *flagitia*, as offences against human nature.

- 18 *pro modo*] 'proportionate.'

- 19 *numero*] 'so many,' i.e. an indefinite number varying according to circumstances.

regi vel civitati] according as the state was monarchical or non-monarchical.

- 21 *et principes*] apparently the same as in c. 11 (though at first sight it looks as if others were meant), *qui...reddunt* being added to state a fact about their usual duties. The rendering 'those *principes* are chosen who administer, &c.,' that is, 'out of the body of *principes* the ones are chosen who, &c.,' would seem to require the subj. mood.
- 22 *centeni*] "the office of the *principes* was rather that of president of the court than of judge; he had at least in the *pagus* a hundred assessors or companions to whom he was indebted not only for advice, but for authority also; doubtless they both declared the law and weighed the evidence." Stubbs, p. 29. If, as seems probable, the *pagus* represented the 'hundred,' the area *originally* occupied by 100 free families, then these 100 companions might be the fully qualified members of the community, forming a full hundred court, not a mere council of assessors, as T. supposed; see Stubbs, p. 31 and note.

CHAPTER XIII.

- 27 *moris*] cf. *Agric.* c. 33, l. 16.
- 28 *suffecturum*] sc. *armis*, 'that he will be equal to the use of them.'
- 30 *toga=togae virilis sumptio*.
- p. 38. 1 *insignis* &c.] this passage has been very variously explained. It would be impossible here to discuss all the explanations. Keeping the MSS. reading *ceteris* (and there seem to be no sufficient grounds for altering it) the natural meaning would seem to be that distinguished nobleness or distinguished services on the part of their fathers entitled certain youths to claim the dignity of the principate. Such a claim however would imply only eligibility. To become actual *principes*, they must be proposed to and elected by the *concilium*. Meanwhile such a youth attached himself to another *princeps*, as a member of his *comitatus*, but holding the position (so to say) of a *princeps* probationer.
- The reading *ceteri*, with which *adulescentuli* must be supplied (to supply *nobiles* would be very forced) seems not to account for *nec rubor*, &c., there was no reason to suppose that ordinary youths would feel any shame in joining a *comitatus*. *dignationem principis* might mean, special regard from a *princeps*, and such a translation would obviate the main difficulty of the passage, but the tenor of the passage generally and the word *etiam* in particular seem to be against such a rendering.
- 6 *quibus primus*] sc. *sit*.
- 10 *id...ea*] anticipate *si...emineat*.

12 *legationibus*] abl. of instrument, they are sought out by means of embassies, that is, embassies are sent to solicit their aid.

13 *plerumque*] 'very often,' as *plerique* frequently means not 'most,' but 'very many,' c. 8, l. 21.

profligant] 'dissipate'; *bella* must apparently mean not actual, but intended wars, hostile demonstrations. *profligare bellum* generally means to break the back of a war, to deal a decisive blow at it, while *conficere* is to bring it actually to a conclusion.

CHAPTER XIV.

15 *iam vero*] cf. *Agric.* c. 9, l. 17.

16 *infame...probrosus*] have a causal sense, 'it is a source of life-long infamy and reproach,' cf. *Agric.* c. 18, l. 26.

18 *sacramentum*] 'is the essence of their allegiance-oath.' *precipuum sacramentum* seems to be used like *summus mons* and the like, 'their oath in its most special part'; it can hardly be meant that they took more than one oath. There was probably such an oath taken by the *comites*, so that *sacramentum* is to be taken literally, not generally for a bond of allegiance.

21 *ultro*] cf. *Agric.* c. 19, l. 4.

23 *ancipitia*] like *dubius*, of dangerous or critical circumstances.

24 *tueare*] the indef. 2nd person of general statement.

25 *equum*] from this it would appear that the *comites* were cavalry.

cruentam victricemque] 'the blood and victory spear.' *illum...illam* perhaps best, though inadequately, rendered by our definite article, imply that these were well-known objects of ambition among the *comites*.

26 *nam*] gives a reason for what is implied in the previous sentence; the war-horse and the spear were regarded as gifts or prizes bestowed by the *princeps*, probably out of spoils taken in war; for the regular pay, as it were, of the *comites* was the maintenance at the chieftain's table.

quamquam] cf. *Agric.* c. 1, l. 7.

epulae] 'an open table.'

et]=*et**aeque* 'and that magnificently, if rudely, supplied.' *apparatus* is best taken as gen. of description qualifying *epulae*.

27 *pro stipendio cedunt*] 'passes for pay,' the use of *cedere pro* 'to be equivalent to' is not common.

29 *vocare*]=*provocare* 'to challenge.'

30 *quin immo*] 'nay, on the contrary,' a variant for *quin etiam* used by Pliny and Tacitus. In writers before Livy *immo* never follows another word in the sentence.

CHAPTER XV.

p. 39. 3 *quotiens* &c.] the punctuation of the text seems best; *fortissimus...agens* is in apposition to the subject of *ineunt* and *transigunt*, the German warriors; *delegata...familia* explains *nihil agens*; *ipsi hebent* &c. is a re-statement of the original sentence suggested by the immediately preceding words, *ipsi* being the men as opposed to *feminis*.

non multum] sc. *temporis*, cf. *Agric.* c. 18; the use is post-Augustan.

7 *diversitate*] 'showing strange opposites in the character of men at once so idle and so restless.'

9 *ultro*] 'unsolicited.'

virilim] 'individually,' that is, each man contributing, a sort of voluntary rate.

10 *armentorum...frugum*] partitive genitive after the noun sentence *quod...subvenit*.

12 *sed et*] = *sed etiam* as frequently in post-Augustan writers.

14 *docuimus*] cf. c. 42, *Hist.* IV. 76.

CHAPTER XVI.

16 *populis*] cf. *Agric.* c. 2, l. 1.

urbes] this is true of *urbes* properly so called, but the Germans, as T. himself shows, had here and there at any rate what could be described in Latin as *oppida*.

17 *sedes*] the sites of the villages, which did not adjoin, but were spotted about at random over the area included in the *pagus*.

discreti ac diversi] 'disconnected and variously placed,' the first means that the villages were scattered, the latter that no order was observed in the position of them. That T. is speaking here of the villages, not of houses, is clear from what follows.

21 *remedium*] in general sense, 'security,' derived from the idea of 'antidote,' cf. Cic. *Philipp.* XIII. 11. 25 *qui tuis veneficiis remedium invenit*, which shows the transition from the literal to the metaphorical meaning. *remedium* is in apposition to the sense of the previous statement.

inscitia] abl. of cause, 'because they do not know how to build (connected buildings).'

22 *ne...quidem*] = οὐδέ, 'neither.' See Mayor on Cic. *Philipp.* II. c. 5, § 10.

23 *materia*] 'timber.' *citra*, *Agric.* c. 35, l. 2.

24 *loca*] parts of the house.

25 *pura*] clean, unblemished, that is, uniform in colour whatever colour it was, not mixed with anything which would give it a dirty or mottled appearance.

ut &c.] 'as to produce a semblance of painting and outlines of colour.' All that T. means here is that the use of these coloured earths produced an effect in house decoration resembling to some extent the decoration of Italian houses. He cannot mean to imply conscious imitation on the part of the Germans. *imitor* often means simply to produce something resembling another thing, as in Verg. *Aen.* XI. 894 *robore duro stipitibus ferrum sudibusque imitantur obustis*.

26 *aperire*] to 'open,' in the sense of 'forming by opening,' cf. *Agric.* c. 14, l. 8.

27 *insuper*] literal, they roof these cellars with thick layers of clay.

29 *moliunt*] sc. *specus*. *advenit*, perfect.

30 *fallunt*] 'escape detection simply because they require search.'

CHAPTER XVII.

p. 40. 1 *tegumen*] quite general, 'clothing.'
sagum] cf. c. 6, l. 13.

2 *cetera*] otherwise, lit. 'to the extent of the other parts.'

4 *distinguntur*] some understand this to mean that all in public wore a tight-fitting dress of some kind (the undress described above being confined to indoors), but that the rich wore a garment which distinguished them from the rest. It is difficult however to see how this meaning can be obtained from the words.

5 *stricta*] 'close-fitting.'

6 *ripae*] of the Rhine and the Danube. *gerunt*, sc. *locupletiores* over the tight-fitting garment.

7 *ulteriores*] i.e. the people of the interior.

exquisitius] 'more elaborately,' bestowing more pains upon them.

ut quibus &c.] that is, not being in the way of getting imported dress materials, they thought more of their native ones.

8 *eligunt*] sc. *ulteriores*; the word means that they select their animals for this purpose, choosing certain kinds, and those the best of their kind.

velamina] the skins, regarded as materials for garments.

9 *maculis pellibusque*] hendiadys, 'spots of skin,' are trimming or braiding made of skin. *beluarum*, prob. seals.

13 *sed et*] cf. c. 6, l. 16.

CHAPTER XVIII.

- 16 *quamquam*] cf. c. 5, l. 28.
- 17 *laudaveris*] cf. *Agric.* c. 3, l. 28.
- 19 *ambiuntur*] zeugma. A different predicate must be supplied to suit *non libidine*, such as *plures nuptias petunt*, 'who marry more than one wife, not to please themselves, but those who court alliance with them because of their nobility.' *nuptiis* may be dative, but is more probably modal ablative, cf. *Hist.* IV. 51 *magnificum tantis sociorum auxiliis ambiri*; the phrase here seems modelled after Verg. *Aen.* VII. 333 *conubiis ambire*.
- 24 *in haec munera*] a modal use of *in* with accus. It is regularly so used by all writers with the word *modus*, and occasionally with other words, esp. *verba, sententia, leges, exemplum*; in all these cases with an attribute; with *species* it is used without an attribute. T. here seems to use it as if in *munera* the idea of *leges* or *condiciones* were implied, so that it means, 'in consideration of.'
- 25 *hoc...haec...hos*] = *haec munera* by the regular attraction to the complement; 'in these they see firmest bond, mystic rites, and nuptial gods,' which appears to be an obscure way of remarking that this simple interchange of gifts answered all the purpose in binding the man and his wife together of the solemn *confarreatio* among the Romans.
- 27 *virtutum cogitationes*] 'excluded from all thoughts of high deeds.'
- 28 *auspiciis*] 'solemn preliminaries,' expresses the preliminaries of the German marriage in terms of Roman usage, who initiated every important undertaking by auspice-taking.
- 31 *sic*] 'by this,' i.e. in accordance with what is expressed by the presents.
- p. 41. 1 *quae* &c.] applies of course only to those presents which were of a permanent character. An old German family must have possessed a considerable armoury. Some take the words of the spirit and principles of the bride, but the interpretation seems strained.

CHAPTER XIX.

- 3 *saepta*] means 'hedged in'; so 'guarded,' 'secure,' 'impregnable.'
- pudicitia*] 'modesty' is the quality of the *pudicus*, and includes the inward feeling of *pudor* and the outward expression of it, cf. Cic. *Philipp.* II. 7. 15 *adeone pudorem cum pudicitia perdidisti?*
- spectaculorum...conviviorum*] contemporary writers abundantly confirm this statement as to the demoralising effect of the shows and of dinner-

parties on the women of Roman society. Of the shows the dramatic seem to have been the most corrupting.

- 4 *inlecebris...irritationibus*] 'allurements' or 'seductions' and 'exciting influences.'
- 5 *secreta*] it is not a certainty whether T. means here 'letter-writing' generally, 'the mystery of writing,' or 'clandestine correspondence,' probably the latter. The German authorities all claim a knowledge of writing for their ancestors at this period.
- 10 *vitia*] not 'vices' generally, but 'immorality' as we often use the word in the special sense of sexual immorality. *vitare* and *vitium* are not unfrequently used with this restriction of meaning.
- 11 *saeculum*] the 'age' in the sense of the 'way of the age,' 'the fashion of the time,' an easy transition of meaning, but not paralleled in any other writer, though T.'s use of it here would lead us to suppose that it was a cant word of the Roman fashionable world in this sense.
- 12 *adhuc*] cf. *Agric.* c. 33, l. 20.
- 13 *transigitur cum*] cf. *Agric.* c. 33, l. 21: 'to have finished with a bride's hopes and prayers once for all' means that a woman once married was married for life, not simply till her husband died.
- voto uxoris*] prayers for success in the married state, that wife and husband may both do their duty in it.
- 15 *ne*] is of course final, showing the condition not as a result, but as something purposed, as it is used sometimes after *ita*, e.g. *Livy* XI. 15. Here *sic* is rather retrospective than anticipatory of *ne*.
- ultra...longior*] both mean much the same, 'beyond,' 'reaching further,' namely beyond and reaching farther than the first marriage.
- 16 *matrimonium*] T.'s meaning is quite beyond the reach of the unassisted human understanding. Loving *matrimonium* would lead, one would suppose, to a result directly opposite to that which he is here labouring to describe; besides which even a German lady would find a difficulty in bestowing her affections on an abstraction. If he meant that a married woman's affections were to be satisfied by the interests created by one marriage, it would have been well to have said so.
- tamquam*] 'so to say.'
- 17 *adgnatis*] children born after the will is made, as in *Cic. pro Caecina* c. 25. The general and wider sense of those who traced relationship through unbroken succession of males does not apply here.
- 18 *alibi*] has no doubt special reference to Rome.

CHAPTER XX.

21 *nudi...sordidi*] German editors are careful to point out that the latter adj. applies only to the dress, 'scantily clothed in squalid garments.'

23 *nec ancillis*] cf. *Agric. c. 4, l. 11.*

24 *deliciis*] 'refinements.'

26 *adgnoscat*] an affected personification for a prose writer, 'Worth recognises them as her own.'

27 *festinantur*] the use of the passive of *festino* is mostly poetical. The meaning is that maidens are not hurried into early marriages.

eadem] sc. *quae iuvenibus.*

32 *exigunt*] the object is not *nexum*, but rather *sororis filios* implied in it.

tamquam] 'in the idea that it gives them a firmer hold on the feelings and a wider hold on the family.' Taking sisters' sons would affect two families equally, whereas taking sons might only affect one. It is assumed that, where nephews were taken, there were sons who might have been taken.

p. 42. 1 *heredes*] in regard to property, *successores* in regard to position and authority.

2 *proximus gradus*] 'the next rank in seisin are &c.'

3 *propinquorum*] = *cognatorum*, blood relations.

4 *adfinium*] relations by marriage.

5 *pretia*] the presents, compliments and adulation generally bestowed on rich and childless people by legacy-hunters; the allusions to this practice in contemporary writers, esp. Martial, are very frequent. For the use of *pretium* = *praemium*, cf. *Agric. c. 1, l. 14.*

CHAPTER XXI.

9 *nec*] 'but...not.'

11 *universa*] i.e. the compensation covers all the claims of the whole house of the murdered person, so that the feud is at an end as regards all members of it.

utiliter] 'to the advantage of the whole community.'

12 *iuxta*] 'side by side with,' i.e. 'in combination with.'

14 *quemcunque*] the use of this word as indefinite demonstrative begins with Livy.

mortalium] regularly used by Sallust = *homines*, by Livy only in speeches and descriptions of battles. Here it is used prob. as a rather stronger form of *homines*.

16 *monstrator*] sc. *fit*, i.e. directs the guest to another host.

- 18 *quantum ad*] first used by Ovid, occurs *Agric.* c. 44, and *Hist.* v. 10, but not in the *Annals*.
 21 *imputant*] *Agric.* c. 2, l. 32.

CHAPTER XXII.

- 26 *calida*] prob. a luxury of the rich, though T. does not say so; at least German editors say so, and they must know.
 27 *occupat*] 'fills most of the year.' Cf. Horace *Odes* III. 39. 43 *cras vel atra nube polum pater occupato. ut qui* with the indicative occurs nowhere else in Tacitus.
separatae] as opposed to the Roman *triclinium*.
 28 *sua cuique mensa*] as T. is evidently contrasting German and Roman customs here, he probably means only that each had his separate place at table with his portion of food before him.
nec minus saepe] 'and as often as not,' the meaning is that the Germans spent the day as often in carousing as in business.
 29 *diem noctemque*] = *noctem diei*, to spend a whole day and night continuously. *potando* modal.
 30 *rixae*] not *iurgia*, because the quarrels generally developed into *rixae* proper, fights.
 31 *transiguntur*] 'are settled,' passive of *transigo* in the sense of *transigere cum aliquo*. Cf. c. 19, l. 13.

sed] 'at the same time'; they make quite a different use of their carousals as well as fighting at them.

p. 43. 1 *adfnitatibus*] 'arranging marriages.'

- 2 *adsciscendis*] may mean the adoption of *principes* by those who wished to join their *comitatus*, or the adopting of those who were to be raised to the dignity, that is, deciding on the men whose names were to be submitted to the *concilium* for election.
 3 *tamquam*] 'on the theory that,' cf. *Agric.* c. 16, l. 12.
 5 *adhuc*] 'as yet,' they have not learnt yet the reserve of a more artificial people.
 7 *retractatur*] impersonal passive, 'they reconsider their decisions.'
 8 *salva*] 'due regard is paid (justice is done) to both seasons,' explained by what follows.

CHAPTER XXIII.

- 10 *potui*] sc. *est*, predicative dative, 'serves for drink,' cf. c. 46; in both places the dative implies perhaps some compassion for those who have to drink &c. and eat such things.
 11 *corruptus*] instead of *factus* or *coctus* implies that the liquor produced is a bad imitation of wine.

ripae] cf. c. 17, l. 6.

12 *recens*] freshly killed.

13 *lac concretum*] Caesar, *B. G.* vi. 22, calls it *caseus*.

apparatu] elaborate cooking prob. is meant rather than costly appointments.

blandimentis] 'sauces' or 'relishes,' things to provoke appetite, such as the *gustus* or *gustatio* of the Romans consisted of.

14 *adversus*] taken in connexion with *temperantia* seems to combine the meanings of 'in dealing with' and 'in opposing,' 'in their appetite for drink they do not show the same forbearance.'

indulseris] 'encourage.'

15 *ebrietati*] 'drunkenness,' in the sense of love of intoxicating drink. On the use of single nouns in Latin to express ideas for which in English two substantives and a preposition are required, see Potts, *Hints towards Latin Prose Composition*, p. 23.

CHAPTER XXIV.

18 *unum*] T. possibly wishes to contrast the one war-dance of the Germans performed by free youths with the varied and voluptuous dances of the Romans performed by paid artists.

omni coetu] i.e. in every assembly before which a spectacle took place.

19 *nudi*] authorities differ as to whether this means absolute or partial nudity.

quibus] either 'to whom the performance is sport,' i.e. 'who take pleasure in the performance,' in which case *ludicrum* is predicate, or, better, 'to whom it belongs to execute this performance,' in which case *id* is attribute to *ludicrum*.

inter gladios] the meaning appears to be that the youths danced holding swords and spears, with which they made passes at one another.

20 *infestas*] 'levelled.'

saltu iaciunt] implies more *abandon* than *saltant*.

paravit] a true perfect; skill is the result of practice, grace of skill.

21 *non in*] 'acquired not for the purpose of' &c., cf. *Agric.* c. 5, l. 1.

22 *quamvis*] qualifies *audacis*, 'however bold (and therefore dangerous) their play &c.'

23 *quod mirere*] cf. *Agric.* c. 15, l. 3.

sobrii] to a Roman mind reckless gambling would be naturally associated with festivity and wine.

inter seria] 'as a serious pursuit (or a matter of business).' Cf. c. 32,

l. 33.

lucrandi &c.] A more picturesque way of putting *ludendi*, 'with

such a recklessness in winning or losing,' the winner and the loser are equally reckless in their play. The genitives are descriptive.

24 *extremo...novissimo*] the same combination occurs in *Agric.* c. 34. It implies here that the throw is not merely the last, but the last possible, 'final and desperate.'

25 *corpore*] Cf. *Ann.* IV. 72.

26 *voluntariam*] is adverbial. The slavery is not optional, but they accept it unresistingly, as a matter of course.

29 *per commercia tradunt*] such slaves are sold away, probably to foreigners; the expression *per commercia* is generally used in connexion with foreign trade, cf. c. 17, l. 8.

Kemble, *Saxons in England* I. 192, note 2, calls the latter member of this sentence 'a piece of imaginative morality' on T.'s part, 'which we shall acquit the Germans of altogether.' But when he says 'the very word *ceteris* in the next sentence shows clearly that, if they did sell some slaves *condicionis huius*, they kept others for menial functions,' he unnecessarily accuses T. of self-contradiction; *ceteris* may surely mean, the slaves they did not get rid of, the slaves they did use in fact. In ascribing menial functions to these slaves or serfs also Kemble seems to overlook the words *cetera domus*, &c. c. 25.

CHAPTER XXV.

31 *descriptis* &c.] 'in stated duties distributed among the members of the slave-staff,' i.e. according to a definite classification of duties. In the Roman household the slaves were regularly classified; there was the *familia rustica* divided into *soluti* and *vincti*, and the *familia urbana* divided into *ordinarii* and *vulgares*, each again divided into numerous subdivisions named according to their various duties.

32 *sedem*] 'abode,' *penates* 'home.'

p. 44. 1 *regit*] 'regulates,' 'controls,' 'is master of.'

2 *ut colono*] the essential point of T.'s comparison seems to be that both the German serf and the Roman *colonus* handed over a portion of the produce of the land they occupied to the owner of the land. At a later period the term *colonus* certainly meant a labourer, assigned to a master and bound to cultivate his land, not a slave, but a serf, *adscriptus glebae*: the owner could sell the estate with the *coloni*, but neither without the other. But this seems to have been the final state of a gradual process. When, in consequence of the increase of large estates and the enormous importations of slaves, small proprietors disappeared, such small proprietors became labourers working for wages (as Ofella in Horace, *Sat.* II. 2. 115), or metayers, and were called *coloni*. Some

very likely for protection attached themselves to large owners as a sort of villeins. The class would seem to have been largely increased from time to time by transportations of conquered peoples, who were not sold as slaves, but settled as *coloni*; and in course of time their condition, as serfs attached to the estate they worked on, and holding a very similar position to the German slaves described here, was fixed and defined in detail by law. Whether the final stage in the process had been reached in the time of Tacitus, and whether *colonus* had one uniform signification in his time, is uncertain. See W. T. Arnold, *Roman Provincial Administration*, p. 161.

hactenus] cf. *Agric. c. 10, l. 22*. All that T. can mean is that their duties were confined to the cultivation of the land, and that they practically enjoyed considerable personal independence.

cetera] the natural meaning of this seems to be all the duties except cultivating the land, all the house-work, in fact, cf. *c. 15, l. 5*. This is not necessarily at variance with what T. says at the beginning of *c. 20*. His point there is simply the equality of the two sets of children up to a certain age.

4 *opere*] labour imposed as a punishment, 'hard labour' in fact. *vinculis* and *opere* are closely connected, as the copulatives show.

5 *nisi quod*] 'the only difference being that,' cf. *Agric. c. 6, l. 19*.

6 *liberti*] manumitted slaves. We have no information as to such manumission at this time. But we must assume that it did take place, and that the condition of the emancipated slave resembled that of the *libertus*, as in fact seems to have been the case at a later period. Kemble, *Saxons &c. I. 220*.

raro] 'here and there, an influence in a family.'

8 *dumtaxat*] is concessive and corrective, cf. *Cic. de Amic. § 53, Livy II. 61. 4*.

regnantur] 'are under monarchs,' poetic use of the passive, cf. Horace, *Odes, II. 6. 12*.

9 *impares*] 'the inferior position of the freedman class.'

10 *libertini*] is used because he is speaking of the *liberti* as a class in the state, not as individuals, as above.

CHAPTER XXVI.

12 *agitare*] 'to work interest,' seems to mean to make a business of money-lending, to live by it; *in usuras extendere* seems to have *faenus* also for its object, in the sense of 'exaction of interest,' so that it means 'to charge interest on (unpaid) interest,' lit. 'to extend the payment of interest on to (so as to affect) interest.'

Another view is that the two phrases mean practically the same, 'to practise lending at interest, and to increase capital by usury.' This agrees perhaps better with *ignotum*, but it requires us to supply *pecunias* as object to *extendere*, and seems out of keeping with the contrast between German and Roman practice implied in *quam si vetitum esset*.

- 13 *servatur*] the subject seems to be the negation *non faenus agitare* implied in *faenus agitare ignotum*. This seems simple and intelligible, and the various emendations proposed not necessary.

agri &c.] it would be impossible here to give all the different interpretations of this difficult passage. The most probable view is that T. refers to initial occupation, when possession was taken of sufficient land for the number of settlers or conquerors, which land was presently divided among individuals in shares differing according to the rank of the receivers.

- 16 *camporum spatia*] 'the wide extent of level ground': wide-spreading plains would be easier to divide than broken, wooded or hilly country.

arva mutant] 'from a crop to a fallow, not from one holder to another.' Latham. This is probably all that is meant, not a rotation of crops.

et superest] *et* here as elsewhere, cf. *Agric.* c. 10, l. 15, = *etenim*, and the sentence means, 'and (they can afford to, for) there is plenty of land.'

- 17 *nec enim*] negative of *etenim*, introduces a statement confirming and explaining the previous one. As they raise nothing but corn crops, they have enough land to be able to work it by alternate crop and fallow.

- 18 *contendunt*] contending or struggling with the richness and wide extent of the soil, means forcing it by artificial means to produce more and more varied crops.

ut] without a preceding *ita* expresses here the conditions or mode of the action, 'by planting.'

prata separent] 'enclosing grass meadows.'

- 19 *seges*] grain crops, wheat and barley.

imperatur] cf. Verg. *Georg.* I. 99, Cic. *de Senect.* § 51.

- 20 *totidem*] sc. *quot nos*.

species] 'seasons'; *species* is the subdivision of a *genus*, so here used of the divisions or seasons of the year.

- 21 *autumni*] the season of fruit-gathering.

CHAPTER XXVII.

- 24 *ambitio*] 'ostentation,' 'display,' 'parade.' The simplicity of the German funerals is obviously mentioned by way of contrast with the elaborate Roman rites.

- 25 *certis*] 'fixed,' probably by religious usage.
crementur] there seems reason to believe that interment was practised among the Germans as well as cremation.
- 26 *vestibus*] alluding to the *vestis stragula* placed on the *lectus funebris*.
- 27 *caespes erigit*] = *caespite erigitur*, a poetic phrase found in other writers of this period.
- 28 *monumentorum honorem*] meaning 'honouring monuments,' cf. c. 1, l. 5, the attributes attached to *honorem* qualify the whole phrase.
arduum] 'towering,' lit. 'steep.'
gravem] if Tacitus means literally heavy, he is wrong, for the Germans had grave-mounds and even stone-tombs which would be quite heavy enough to inconvenience the dead, if that were a consideration. But perhaps he means 'offensive.'
- p. 45. 1 *in commune*] cf. c. 38, l. 27.
 2 *gentium...nationes*] used synonymously here.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

- 10 *Iulius*] *B. G.* vi. 24. Caesar's supposition that Gauls migrated from Gaul into Germany appears to be untenable, the fact apparently being that the Celts were pressed out of Germany by the Teutons, leaving some remnants of their nation scattered here and there in the land beyond the Rhine.
etiam Gallos] with reference to the words *quaeque nationes* &c. in the previous chapter.
- 13 *adhuc*] cf. *Agric.* c. 37, l. 1.
regnum potentia] 'powerful kingdoms,' cf. c. 1, l. 5.
- 14 *divisas*] that is, separated by boundaries as belonging to particular states, 'appropriated,' 'secured.'
Hercyniam silvam] described by Caesar, *B. G.* vi. 25. The name in its widest use included all the mountain country of W. Germany. The part of the range meant here is that known as the German Jura.
Helvetii] the statement here, as *tenuere* shows, refers to a previous position of the Helvetii before they were settled in the country where Caesar found them. The object of *tenuere* in the first part of the sentence is *inter...amnes*, which in Greek would be τὰ ἐντὸς &c.
- 15 *Boii*] see c. 42.
Gallica] that is, Celtic.

- 16 *Boihaemi*] nom. *Boihaemum* (*Βοίαημον* Strabo), acc. to Tacitus (here) and Strabo, the name of a place; acc. to Velleius Paterc., of a district. *significat*] 'points to.'
- 17 *loci veterem memoriam*] 'the ancient memories of the place' is a curious phrase; *loci* seems to be subjective and personified, 'what the place remembers or records'; it may possibly be descriptive, 'old memory connected with, i.e. the former history of, the place.'
- 19 *Aravisci*] on the right bank of the Danube, the Osi on the left, were both Pannonian peoples, the Osi having been allowed to retain the position in which they had settled before the invasion of the Germans, and having become, territorially only, a German people, but retaining their national speech and customs.
- 20 *eodem*] sc. *quo Aravisci*.
- 21 *quia*] gives the reason of *incertum est*.
inopia...libertate] abl. of circumstance.
- 22 *bona...mala*] i.e. freedom and poverty.
utriusque ripae] of the Danube; the meaning of the sentence is that, since the advantages and disadvantages of both positions in former times were the same, it is impossible to conjecture which people migrated from its original quarters.
- Treveri ac Nervii*] on the Germans of N. Gaul see note on c. 2. That tribes migrated from the E. into Gaul is more than probable, but this only proves that there was a Keltic population in W. as well as in S. Germany before the Germans occupied it; it does not prove that the migrating tribes belonged to the German stock. T. himself evidently does not believe in the claims of the Nervii and Treviri.
- 23 *circa*] this use of *circa* in the sense of *περί* with the gen. belongs to post-Augustan Latin.
ultra] hardly means as much as 'falsely,' as some editors take it, but rather 'ostentatiously,' they went out of their way to parade their claim to German blood, showing by their very anxiety that they were not certain.
- 24 *tamquam*] 'in the (mistaken) idea that they disprove connexion with the Gauls in similarity or helplessness,' that is, prove themselves a different people and a vigorously warlike one. T. seems not to credit these people with the character they claimed. Caesar however, *B. G.* VIII. 25, acknowledges their energy and warlike character.
- 26 *Vangiones*] occupied the country about Worms, the Triboci that about Strasbourg, the Nemetes that about Spire. Pliny also calls them true Germans, but the names of the last two are Keltic. All three

are mentioned by Caesar as forming parts of the army of Ariovistus. It seems impossible to determine whether they were Gallicised Germans or Keltic auxiliaries of invading Germans.

27 *Ubi*] were originally on the right bank of the Rhine, between the river, the Suevi, and the Sigambri. They were at one time a flourishing state (Caesar, *B. G.* iv. 3), but reduced by the Suevi and made to pay tribute. Subsequently they were forced by the hostility of their neighbours to seek the protection of the Romans (*Id. ibid.* 16). Agrippa acting for Augustus transplanted them to the left bank of the Rhine, when their city Ara Ubiorum became the head-quarters of the Roman army on the lower Rhine. Later it was raised to the dignity of a colony under the title of Agrippinensis, named after Agrippina, daughter of Germanicus, Tac. *Ann.* xii. 27, and the people, giving up their old name, called themselves Agrippinenses.

28 *conditoris sui*] may mean Agrippa, but more probably it is the genitive of *conditor sui* (cf. *Ann.* xiv. 9, *conditor nostri*), and means Agrippina. The masc. *conditor*, as *testis*, cf. 7, could be used of a female.

29 *erubescunt*] as Germans who had lost their independence might well do, only that, as T. says, they could reckon themselves guards, not prisoners, of the Roman empire.

30 *experimento*] abl. of cause.

super] 'aloft on,' a peculiar use of the prep. instead of *in* with the abl. to give the notion of a position of observation.

CHAPTER XXIX.

p. 46. 3 *harum*] i.e. *quae e Germania in Gallias commigraverunt non multum*, a small portion of the Rhine bank, i.e. a strip south of the Island.

4 *ex*] is used in a partitive sense, *ripa* meaning the whole country lying along the left bank of the river.

insulam] the island formed by the two branches of the Rhine N. and S., and the ocean W., cf. *Hist.* iv. 12 *Batavi, donec trans Rhenum* (i.e. in Germany) *agebant pars Chattorum, seditione domestica pulsi extrema Gallicae orae vacua cultoribus simulque insulam inter vada sitam occupavere, quam mare Oceanum a fronte Rhenus amnis tergum ac latera circumluit: nec opibus Romanis societate validiorum attriti viros tantum armaque imperio ministrant, diu Germanicis bellis exerciti.* From *Hist.* v. 15 it appears that the Batavi shared the island

with the Canninefates, *gens origine lingua virtute par Batavis*. *populus*, that is, a *pagus* of the nation of the Chatti; *populus*, *gens* and *natio* are all used sometimes of a part of a whole nation.

6 *ferent*] not simply consecutive, but partly final. T. sees a fate in the direction chosen by the Batavi.

7 *insigne*] the outward sign, explained, as *nam* shows, by what follows. *tributis*] the *tributa*, *sol*i and *capit*is, were the subdivisions of the *stipendium*, that is, the definite sum irrespective of the amount of produce (as opposed to *decumae*, a tithe of the produce) paid by a conquered people. The main part of the *stipendium* came from land, *tributum soli*. The *tributum capit*is was any personal tax, either a tax on trades, or an income tax. But the *tributum capit*is was a supplementary tax. When for any reason the *stipendium soli* was not sufficient, the *tributum capit*is came in as an extraordinary measure to supply the deficiency. It might be permanent or it might be only occasional. W. T. Arnold, *Roman Provincial Government*, p. 183 fol.

contemnuntur] 'suffer the indignity of.' T. probably does not mean that there was any more indignity in paying the *tributa* of the *stipendium*, than in paying *decumae*. But it suited the purposes of his rhetoric to use two verbs here, so he describes the payment of *decumae* by what was most characteristic of it, the sufferings inflicted by the grinding exactions of the *publicani*, rather than the indignity of paying tribute.

8 *publicanus*] the existence of *publicani* implied that the conquered people with whom they had to do paid not the definite *stipendium* but the variable *decumae*. The illegal exactions of these people are well known. Julius Caesar limited the system of *decumae* to Africa and Sardinia.

oneribus] the regular burdens, including the *tributa* or *decumae* and such others as the provision of corn for the governor, quartering of troops, &c.

9 *collationibus*] extraordinary contributions, nominally voluntary, really forced, 'benevolences,' such as the *aurum coronarium*, originally a gold crown presented by provincials to a victorious general, but even under the Republic a forced payment to the governor. Arnold, p. 194.

tantum] a grand way of saying that they were only required to supply troops.

10 *obsequio*] 'allegiance,' cf. *Ann.* III. 12, *Livy* VII. 30.

11 *Mattiacorum*] occupied the country in the neighbourhood of the

mod. Wiesbaden. The hot springs in their territory are mentioned by Pliny, *N. H.* xxxi. 17.

13 *sua*] the German side.

14 *agunt*] absolute use, cf. Sallust, *Jug.* c. 55 *civitas lacta agere*, a more active synonym of *sum*.

15 *adhuc*] qualifies *ipso...caelo*, 'the presence of their own (original) home and sky still preserved to them, animates them, &c.,' in opposition to the condition of the Batavi who were among strangers. The latter were *praecipui virtute* only among the peoples on the left bank.

16 *numeraverim*] cf. c. 2, l. 21.

17 *decumates*] on these see Merivale, *R. E.* IV. 241 and VIII. 21. The form is not found elsewhere, but is apparently equivalent to *decumanus*, tithe-paying.

consederint] cf. *Agric.* c. 3, l. 18.

19 *dubiae*] because they held them precariously under the protection of the Roman legions.

occupavere] aorist, alluding to the time of the immigration of the Gallic settlers, *mox* signifying the state of things which we find completed in the time of Trajan.

limite] here means a regular military frontier secured by works, hence the use of *acto* 'carried,' as we talk of carrying a wall. This *limes* would seem to have been more or less shifting till Hadrian's time who fixed it in two portions, the *limes transrhenanus* and the *limes transdanuvianus* (the latter known in later times as 'the 'devil's wall'), extending from the mouth of the Lahn, above and round the Mattiaci, then south to the neighbourhood of mod. Göppingen, then east to the Danube a little below *Regina Castra* (Ratisbon).

20 *promotis*] 'pushed forward' to the boundary.

sinus] 'a corner.'

pars provinciae] is curious, for the *agri decumates* formed part of the provinces, *Germania superior* and *Raetia*.

21 *habentur*] 'are reckoned.'

CHAPTER XXX.

Tacitus now begins his description of the German peoples properly so called, in two great divisions, the Non-Suebian to c. 37 and the Suebian from c. 38 onwards.

23 *Hercynio*] cf. c. 28, l. 14; the portion of the range occupied by the Chatti corresponded to the modern Vogels-gebirge and the Rhoen-

gebirge. Their country lay north of the Moenus and west of the Visurgis, in the country which is said to still preserve their name, Hesse.

24 *ceterae*] as the sentence stands in the text this nominative is not grammatical, but it is very intelligible, *sedis* easily suggesting the inhabitants as the subject of the sentence. *initium incohatur* is a not uncommon pleonasm.

27 *simul atque*] means the same as *et...et*, a use not unfrequent in Tacitus. The meaning of the mountain's accompanying and laying down its inhabitants, a bold personification, evidently is that the land of the Chatti ends where the mountain heights sink into level ground.

duriora] harder than most, the absolute use of the comparative.

stricti] lit. 'tight-drawn,' so 'firmly set,' 'muscular.'

28 *maior animi vigor*] 'unusual mental vigour.'

ut inter Germanos] = *ut genti inter G. numeratae*, 'for a member of the German stock'; for the restrictive use of *ut*, common in all authors, cf. Cic. *Brut.* c. 27 *Pisistratus multum, ut temporibus illis, valuit dicendo*.

29 *rationis*] 'reasoning power,' 'judgment.'

sollertiae] 'sagacity,' 'insight.'

praepondere] and the other infinitives are in loose apposition to *multum rationis* &c., expressing that in which their sagacity showed itself, so that *praepondere electos* really = in selecting those they place in office.

30 *nosse ordines*] evidently said in relation to military matters, so that understanding the use of ranks means recognising the value of orderly arrangement in fighting.

31 *differre impetus*] is a result of *intellegere occasiones*; unlike most barbarians they wait for the right moment to charge.

disponere diem] *dies* is apparently used for the duties of the day, 'ordering their days,' meaning to arrange for a regular and orderly performance of the different duties of the daytime.

vallare noctem] 'make the night secure by works,' means securing the camp against nocturnal attacks.

p. 47. 1 *Romanae*] is objected to by some as incompatible with the previous statement. But T. could surely expect his readers to understand that he is speaking of what is generally true; the omission of qualifying words really emphasizes the exceptional military sagacity of the Chatti by raising them as it were to the level of the Romans in this respect.

2 *omne robur*] stated of the Germans generally, c. 6.

- 3 *ferramentis*] 'tools,' *copiis* 'provisions.' The Roman soldiers carried the same.
- 4 *excursus*] 'raiding expeditions.'
- 5 *equestrium* &c.] has reference to *omne robur in peditate*: it is the merit no doubt of cavalry troops to win a victory quickly and to retire as quickly: but rapidity (in the opinion of the Chatti) is not incompatible with panic, while slow movement is more consistent with steadiness. Some take *cedere* to mean 'to give way,' i.e. to lose what they have gained, but the other sense seems preferable. *velocitas*, antithetic asyndeton.
- 6 *iuxta formidinem*] 'closely allied to panic'; rapidity being 'hard by panic' means that one may easily take the place, as it were, of the other, that is, that rapidly moving troops are liable to sudden panic, so that *iuxta* implies easy compatibility, cf. *Ann.* VI. 43 *populi imperium iuxta libertatem*; *paucorum dominatio regiae libidini propior est*. Livy uses the word to express equality or close similarity, IX. 9 *apud quos iuxta divinas religiones fides humana colitur*. Compare the use of ἐγγύς, Thucyd. III. 62 ἐγγυτάτω τυράννου ὀλίγων ἀνδρῶν δυναστεία.
- 7 *propior*] 'more consistent with.'

CHAPTER XXXI.

- 8 *et*] 'moreover,' another illustration of the difference between the Chatti and other Germans. This seems better than taking *et*=*etiam*, qualifying *aliis*.
privata] 'by individuals in defiance of fashion.'
- 9 *audentia*] a post-Augustan word, is a synonym of *audacia*, esp. in the sense of 'confidence,' 'assurance,' 'hardiness.'
in consensum vertit] 'has become the universal practice'; the absolute use of *vertit*, found not unfrequently in Sallust and Livy, is common in Tacitus.
- 11 *virtuti*] seems to qualify both *votivum* and *obligatum*; the latter by hypallage=*debitum*, what properly belongs to the vower being applied to the thing vowed, so used by Horace, *Odes* II. 7. 17 *ergo obligatam redde Iovi dapem*; 'in due performance of a vow to valour.'
- 12 *habitum*] in its most general sense means 'condition' or 'state,' but is specially used of anything that modifies the external appearance of the person, such as 'carriage,' 'bearing,' 'dress'; so here it is used even of the hair and beard.
super] literal, 'standing over.'

revelant] i.e. by cutting away the shock of hair that has hitherto concealed it.

13 *dignos*] sc. *esse*.

14 *squalor*] is specially appropriate to the appearance produced by long and unkempt hair.

15 *insuper*] over and above the hair-vow. What T. appears to mean is that the wearing of the ignominious ring (probably on the arm) was practically a distinction of the keenest warriors, because it was a token that they felt themselves continually under an obligation to kill an enemy. In the case of the ring, the vow could be renewed each time an enemy was killed. The hair-vow obviously would not admit of such repetition.

17 *iamque canent*] they wear the badge even till their hair grows gray.

19 *haec*]=*hi*, the regular attraction of the pronoun to agree with the complement.

20 *visu nova*] *novus* has a strong meaning here as in c. 43 *nullo hostium* &c., and *Ann. XIV. 30 Druidae novitate aspectus perculere mentes*, 'startling.'

nam &c.] these words seem to mean that even in peace they cultivate the same fierce spirit, which expresses itself in their general appearance; hence the awe-inspiring effect of their appearance in battle. This explains the connexion by *nam*.

21 *nulli* &c.] it is the privilege of these *fortissimi* to live, and live lavishly, on other members of the community.

23 *exsanguis*] poetical, cf. Lucan, *Pharsal. I. 343*.

CHAPTER XXXII.

26 *proximi*] apparently immediately west, between the Chatti and the Rhine, the Usipi north of the Tencteri. Caesar, *B. G. IV. 4*, tells us that these peoples were driven out of their homes by the Suevi to the Rhine, where they displaced the Menapii, but he does not tell us where the home was from which they were driven.

certum iam] either, physically, the course being better defined, less broken, cf. Pomponius Mela III. 2 *Rhenus mox* (after the two lakes Venetus and Acronius) *diu solidus* ('entire' or 'compact') *et certo alveo lapsus*; or, perhaps, politically, in an active sense, forming with its bed a fixed barrier. The former is probably right, though the addition of *qui terminus* &c. by the closely connecting *que* may seem to favour the latter.

- 28 *super solitum decus*] i.e. over and above the military renown enjoyed by the Germans generally; the peculiar distinction of the Tencteri as compared with the other Germans was the excellence of their cavalry.
- 31 *hi...haec*] = *hoc*, i.e. *rei equestris studium*, 'this furnishes the sports of their childhood, this is the ambition of their manhood, which they cling to even in old age.'
- perseverant*] sc. *in hoc*.
- 32 *inter*] 'along with,' as in c. 24 *inter seria*, expresses equality or equivalence.
- iura successionum*] abstract in form has a concrete meaning, 'rights of successions' or 'inheritance claims,' really meaning, things which people claim as heirs.
- p. 48. 2. *prout*] sc. *sit*, 'according as one may be,' practically = 'whichever may be'; if the eldest son receives the horses, it is not as eldest son, but as best warrior.
- ferox bello et melior*] *bello* qualifies both adjectives, *ferox* signifies the natural quality of bravery, *melior* adds the sense of superior skill as a soldier; 'not only brave but the most useful soldier.' With *melior*, *ceteris* must be understood.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

- 5 *iuxta*] i.e. northwards.
- 7 *penitus excisis*] T. seems to be in error here; the fact appears to be that the Bructeri had been defeated by a combination of the neighbouring tribes, and their territory encroached upon by the Angrivarii on the East and the Chamavi on the South-East, but not that they had been exterminated.
- 9 *invidere*] sc. *nobis*, *spectaculo* is ablative in accordance with the post-Ciceronian construction. According to Quintilian x. 3. 1 Cicero used the acc. of the thing and dat. of person.
- 10 *armis telisque*] probably ablatives, though some take them to be datives, on account of the dative *oblectationi*.
- 11 *oblectationi oculisque*] 'to delight our minds and feast our eyes,' not necessarily hendiadys, as *oblectationi* implies more than pleasing the eyes.
- 13 *sui*] the reflexive for the reciprocal.
- urguentibus* &c.] Livy v. 22. 8 and 36. 6 are compared, but the use of *urgeo* here is really absolute, whereas in the two passages quoted an object is either expressed or easily supplied. What T. seems to

mean is, that the destiny of the Empire was pressing, that is, becoming an increasing burden; the difficulty of supporting the *moles imperii* against disintegrating forces was an increasing one. He can hardly mean to imply (as some think) an actual fear that the Empire was doomed to fall before the Germanic peoples.

nihil...maius] 'the greatest assistance fortune can render us is, &c.' so as to leave us so much more force at our disposal for subduing the foes we have to encounter.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

17 *a tergo*] southwards.

Dulgubnii, Chasuarii] between the upper Amisia (Ems) and the Alara (Aller).

18 *perinde*] cf. c. 5.

memoratae] 'well known,' lit. 'talked of.'

19 *a fronte*] on the west.

20 *vocabulum*] used by Tacitus and contemporary writers simply as equivalent to *nomen*.

ex modo] cp. c. 12, l. 18 *pro modo poena* proportionate punishment; *ex modo virium* might also be expressed by *pro viribus*, 'in proportion to their strength,' i.e. the names expressed the different proportions of power.

utraeque] the plural here probably indicates that each nation formed a rather loosely compacted aggregate of communities called by the same name. It is true however that what seems to be an incorrect use of the plural for the singular does occur in other authors, e.g. Sallust, *Cat.* xxx. 4, Verg. *Aen.* vi. 685. The Frisians were bounded S. by the Rhine, W. and N. by the North Sea, N.E. by the Chauci.

21 *praetexuntur*] 'are fringed by the Rhine.' *Rheno* is ablative, cf. Verg. *Aen.* vi. 4 *litora curvae praetexunt puppes*, Pliny *N. H.* vi. 25. 29 *montes eas gentes praetexunt*.

22 *lacus*] besides Flevo, part of the mod. Zuider Zee, T. probably has here in his mind standing waters caused by the overflow of the Rhine and Yssel, and the influx of the sea.

et] 'even.' *classibus*, under Drusus B.C. 12, Tiberius A.D. 4, and Germanicus A.D. 15.

23 *illa*] adv. 'in those parts,' cf. *Hist.* iii. 8, 10.

26 *Druso*] the brother of Tiberius, mentioned above, on whom the senate bestowed the title of Germanicus. On his campaigns in Germany see Merivale c. 36.

27 *inquiri*] the infin. after *obsto* on the analogy of *prohibeo* is not found elsewhere.

28 *mox*] simply 'after this,' as c. 2, l. 19 and elsewhere.

sanctius, 'more religious'; the word means either 'more in accordance with the character of a *vir sanctus*,' i.e. one whose blamelessness of character entitles him to inviolability, or 'showing more regard for divine prohibitions or sanctions.'

CHAPTER XXXV.

p. 49. 2 *hactenus*] in addition to its geographical sense, serves as a particle of transition from one division of his subject to another. 'So far Germany towards the west we know' is an instance of T.'s tiresome affectation of brevity, combining two propositions in one statement. What he means apparently is, 'here ends W. Germany about which we have accurate knowledge,' *novimus* implying the fuller knowledge of the Romans about W. Germany as compared with their knowledge of the N. and E. parts of it.

3 *flexu*] in the Cimbric Chersonese, but T. seems to have thought that this bend began further west than it really does, and continued further than the peninsula.

primo statim] cf. *Agric.* c. 3, l. 17; the nation of the Chauci began immediately where the nations of W. Germany ended. Its land was bounded by the Amisia, the Albis, the Ocean, and the easternmost tribes of W. Germany.

ac] 'and first of all, the nation of the Chauci, although it starts from the Frisii, and occupies part of the sea coast, skirts the frontier of all the afore-mentioned tribes, until it reaches with a bend down to the territory of the Chatti.' T. reckons the Chauci as a people of N. Germany. At the same time he points out that, owing to the immense extent of their territory, they adjoin the peoples of W. Germany, running as far south as the Chatti. There their territory makes a bend to the East, having above the Chatti extended further westwards. The description is puzzling, however, for it is impossible to see how the Chauci could have bordered both on the Chatti and the intervening tribes, nor does T. vouchsafe us the assistance he might have given us by saying *which* sides of the various tribes the Chauci skirted. The natural inference is that he meant the east sides of all of them. According to Ptolemy the Chauci were divided into the Little Chauci on the W. of the Weser, and the Great on the E. of the same river, to the Elbe.

- 7 *sed et*] cf. c. 6, l. 16.
 8 *nobilissimus*] seems to be explained by *quique...tueri*; the subjunctive *malit* is generic, giving a characteristic of the Chauci, that is, speaking of them as one of a class of peoples who prefer &c.
 9 *impotentia*] in its common sense as subst. of *impotens*=*impotens sui*, 'want of self-control'; 'contented and self-restrained.'
secreti] 'unmeddling.'
 12 *ut...agant*] depend on *adsequuntur*, 'they assert their superiority without having recourse to injustice'; the negative qualifies *per iniurias*.
 For the use of *ago* cf. c. 29, l. 14.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

- 17 *in latere*] that is, the N. part of them touched the S. part of the Chauci, and the S. part of them the northernmost part of the Chatti. The Cherusci really belonged to the middle of Germany rather than the North, lying between the middle and upper Weser and Elbe. Their name is said to mean Swords-men.
 18 *marcentem*] by hypallage applied to *pacem* really describes the effect of the peace on the people who 'nursed' it. To 'nurse peace' is to indulge the desire for it unduly and let it grow upon one. The account here given of the Cherusci is not confirmed from any other source, and is not borne out by the history of the people at a later period. The incidental notices of this people by Tacitus, *Ann.* XI. 16 and XII. 28, where they are represented as troubled with internal dissensions and at constant strife with the Chatti, refer of course to an earlier period and are not inconsistent with his statement here.
iucundius quam tutius] cf. *Agric.* c. 4, l. 22.
 19 *inpotentes*] cf. c. 35, l. 9.
falso] 'inaction is a delusion,' or perhaps, 'means self-deception,' for *falso* seems not simply to mean mistakenly, but to imply that the people who prefer inaction delude themselves in their reasoning about it because they prefer it.
 20 *ubi*]=*inter eos, inter quos*.
modestia] 'forbearance,' *probitas* 'goodness': the former is the quality of the *modestus*, the habitually self-controlled man, *probitas* suggests the opposite of *improbus*, which implies departure from the right standard, especially in the way of excess.
nomina] of course implies 'mere names,' 'conventional epithets.'
 21 *superiori*] seems preferable to *superioris*, 'titles for, i.e. at the disposal of, assumed by the stronger.'

- 23 *cessit in*] 'has passed or been transformed into,' = here 'has come to be called'; for the use cf. Livy IV. 44. 9 *largitio in triumphum gratiam tribunorum cessura*.

Fosi] a tribe not otherwise known.

- 24 *ex aequo socii*] 'are partners of their adversity on equal terms' means 'are levelled up to them by their adversity,' cf. *Agric.* c. 20, l. 19.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

- 27 *sinum*] must refer to the *flexus*, c. 35, l. 3, and *eundem* seems certainly to imply that T. considered that the Chauci at least (if not the Cherusci) were within it.

proximi Oceano] compared with Ptolemaeus II. 11 πάντων ἀρκτικώτεροι Κίμβροι, seems to mean furthest north, nearest the open sea.

- 28 *gloria*] ablative.

- 29 *lata*] 'wide-spread.'

utraque ripa] no river being mentioned, the Rhine is certainly meant, and the camps &c. mentioned are traces left by the Cimbri during their wanderings.

castra ac spatia] are in apposition to *vestigia*; the expression is not hendiadys, for the *spatia* are wide open spaces round the camps occupied by followers of the warriors.

- 30 *manus*] 'troops,' 'fighting forces.'

- 31 *exitus*] 'exodus.'

fidem] 'credibility,' 'historical truth,' the objective use of the word.

sescentiesimum] according to the Varronian era 641 = B.C. 113.

- p. 50. 3 *alterum*] A.D. 98, the year of Trajan's accession.

- 5 *vincitur*] 'so long have we been conquering Germany,' implies that the struggle was still going on.

- 6 *damna*] sc. *fuere*.

Samnis] this generic or typical use of the singular in proper names is common in Livy.

- 8 *admonuere*] 'given us more frequent lessons' about the uncertainty of fortune in war. Cf. *Hist.* I. 64 *iurgia in proelium exarsissent ni Valens animadversione paucorum oblitus iam imperii Batavos admonuisset* 'given them a lesson.'

quippe] 'the fact is.'

regno] has the full Roman connotation, 'despotism,' as the opposition to *libertas* shows.

acrior] 'has a keener edge,' 'can deal a sharper blow,' a mixture of the literal and the derived senses of the word.

- 10 *et ipse*] cf. *Agric. c. 1, l. 5*, 'when on its own side it lost Pacorus.'

Ventidium] P. Ventidius Bassus, the mule-jobber who in the levelling times of the civil war rose to be a marshal of Rome and avenged the death of the nobleman Crassus by twice defeating the Parthians, B.C. 39 and 38.

obiecerit] the late aorist instead of *obiciat*.

- 11 *Carbone*] at Noreia, B.C. 113.

Cassio (Longino)] B.C. 107. *Scauro*, B.C. 106.

Servilio Caepione Gnaeoque Mallio] one battle (*que*), B.C. 105.

- 12 *simul*] obviously does not mean that the defeats were simultaneous, but that they took place in one short war.

- 14 *etiam*] distinguishes the disaster of imperial times from those of the Republic; on the defeat of Varus see Suet. *Aug. c. 23*; Merivale, *R. E. c. 38*.

nec impune] i.e. not without severe loss.

C. Marius] B.C. 102 and 101.

- 15 *Iulius*] in the war with Ariovistus B.C. 58, and in his expedition across the Rhine, B.C. 55.

Drusus] in his campaigns against the Cherusci, Chatti and Tencteri, B.C. 13—11.

Nero] the emperor Tiberius Nero in three campaigns, B.C. 8 and A.D. 5 and 6.

Germanicus] son of Drusus, in several campaigns in A.D. 14—16.

- 16 *ingentes*] a very strong word, here used ironically, 'gigantic.' On Caligula's expedition, A.D. 40, and the real object of it, see Merivale, VI. 79—81.

- 18 *discordiae*] the thirteen months of revolution after Nero's death, during which Galba, Otho, and Vitellius were successively emperors. The allusion is to the revolt of the Batavians under Civilis, A.D. 69. The revolt spread to Gaul and trans-rhenane Germany, *Hist. IV. 12—37, 54—86*. It was finally crushed and the German tribes driven back by Petilius Cerialis, A.D. 70.

- 19 *adfectavere*] sc. *Germani*.

- 20 *proximis temporibus*] that of Domitian, who undertook an expedition against the Chatti, and celebrated a triumph over them, cf. *Agric. c. 39, l. 27*.

triumphati &c.] 'have been subjects of triumphs rather than victories.'

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

24 *nunc*] is emphatic. T. here begins the second portion of his ethnography of Germany proper, containing the description of the Suebic peoples who occupied far the largest part of Germany.

quorum non una] that is, the name is not the name of one individual tribe as in the case of the *Chatti* &c., but is the collective name of a number of tribes, each with individual names of their own. The name is said to mean the 'hovering' or 'wavering' people (though some authorities give it exactly the opposite meaning), in reference to their migratory disposition. The explanation of the fact, apparently inconsistent with T.'s assertion that *Suebi* was only a collective name, that mention is made, as by Caesar for example, of individual peoples bearing the name, seems to be, that these were portions of the Suebic stock that had not, like most of the branches, assumed a distinctive name; and consequently, when they wandered away to dispossess other tribes and occupy their lands, had made themselves known to their neighbours as *Suebi* or *Suevi*, the common appellation of their stock.

26 *propriis*] 'particular,' 'individual.' The different sets of *Suebi* had each a tribe and name of their own in contradistinction to the stock and name common to all of them.

28 *obliquare*] is to carry at an angle. Here it means to comb the hair backwards contrary to the natural direction of its growth, so as to gather it into one and fasten it. The usual fastening would seem to have been at the back of the head; a variety was to fasten it on the crown (*in ipso vertice* below).

substringere] to tie the hair close to the head.

31 *intra*] 'confined to.'

32 *horrentem*] 'into a shock,' agrees with *capillum* and is proleptic, expressing the appearance produced by the process, the hair forming a sort of plume at the back or on the top of the head.

p. 51. 2 *sed*] a *quidem* is implied in *ea cura formae*, 'this (certainly) is attention to personal appearance but innocent.'

3 *ut ament amenturque*] 'in order to make love or be made love to,' depend on *ornantur* only: *in altitudinem* &c. is antithetic asyndeton, equivalent to *sed in altitudinem*.

4 *adituri*] expresses an habitual condition, for this arrangement of the hair was habitual, not adopted only in preparation for war; 'as warriors ready for war they adorn themselves thus elaborately for the eyes of foemen, to add to their height, as it were (*quandam*), and inspire terror.'

CHAPTER XXXIX.

- 6 *nobilissimos*] seems to refer rather to their antiquity, numbers and religious position, as possessors of the birth-place of the Suebian nation, than to their valour or military capacities.

Semnonēs] the name seems to mean 'the chain or bond people,' that is, 'those who bind themselves to the service of the god.' Their position was between the Elbe and the Oder, N. of the Hermunduri and S. of the Langobardi.

- 7 *fides*] subjective, the belief (their own and others') in their antiquity.

religione] 'by a religious usage.'

- 8 *silvam*] the *silva Semana* (Ptolem.), either the Thuringer-wald or the Spree-wald.

auguriis] 'acts (offices) of consecration,' a secondary sense from the connexion between auspice-taking and consecration, cf. *templum auguratum*, Cic. in *Vatin.* c. 10. The *auguria* here would be the forms of consecration of themselves to the service of the god. The hexameter, containing reminiscences of Verg. VII. 170 seq. and VIII. 597 seq., is noticeable. Compare the well-known one in the opening sentence of the *Annals*. Several other instances are given by the commentators on this passage.

formidine] 'awe.'

- 9 *eiusdem sanguinis*] i.e. apparently all the Germans of the Suebian stock.

- 11 *primordia*] 'the horrid beginnings of their barbaric rite' is generally explained to mean 'the ceremonies which begin with this horrible sacrifice'; but I cannot help thinking that T. meant more by *primordia* than *initia*, and that *primordia ritus* means 'the ceremonies which began with the beginnings of the nation,' 'the primordial (or primeval) ceremonies.'

reverentia] 'the grove claims awful respect in another way (usage).'

- 12 *minor*] cf. Horace *Odes* III. 6. 5 *dis te minorem quod geris, imperas. prae se ferens*] 'proclaiming,' 'confessing.'

- 15 *eo respicit tamquam*] cf. c. 12, l. 16. *sint* must be supplied, cf. c. 13, l. 5.

- 16 *deus*] this god is said by modern German authorities to be Irmin, the god of all the Herminones, cf. c. 2; but *regnator omnium* looks as if Tacitus meant that the god worshipped here was the supreme god of the Suevi, or probably of all the German stock.

- 17 *fortuna*] the 'fortunes,' 'worldly circumstances,' the regular meaning of the singular as distinguished from the plural, which means the concrete 'fortune' or 'estate.' *fortuna* is here opposed to the religious position of the people.
- 18 *corpore*] 'body,' in the sense of 'corporate union,' cf. Livy, I. 8. The *magnum corpus* is the united population of these 100 *pagi*.

CHAPTER XL.

- 21 *Langobardos*] they lived on the W. side of the lower Elbe. The name of a village near Luneberg, Bardswieck, seems to contain a trace of them in that neighbourhood. Velleius Paterculus, II. 106, calls them *gens etiam Germana feritate ferocior*.

paucitas] in contrast to the *magnum corpus* of the *Semnones*. T. perhaps also means to contrast the nobility of fierce independence in the one with the less warlike nobility, depending rather on antiquity and importance of position, in the other.

- 23 *proeliis ac periclitando*] 'by arms and aggressive courage': *periclitando*, 'trying one's fortune,' 'incurring risk,' implies adventurousness. It was by this spirit apparently that the people gained their position on the Elbe, for they seem to have come originally from Jutland.

Reudigni] a name like *Semnones*, apparently implying religious distinction. Modern authorities see in them the centre of the worship of *Ingu*, the eponym of the *Ingaevones*, as the *Semnones* were the centre of the Irmin worship.

deinde] of local succession. They dwelt N.E. of the *Semnones* on the R. bank of the Elbe, at its mouth.

Aviones] 'water-folk,' in the islands at the mouth of the Elbe.

- 24 *Anglii*] 'corner-folk,' in S. Schleswig from Flensburg to the Eider.
Varini] in N. Schleswig and S. Jutland.
Eudoses] N. of the *Varini*.

Suardones] E. of the *Reudigni*, *Nuitones* E. of the *Suardones*, prob. in Mecklenburg.

- 26 *nisi quod*] cf. *Agric.* c. 6, l. 19. 'There is nothing noticeable in these states, regarded singly (and therefore there is nothing to say about them), except that, &c.,' i.e. 'there is nothing noticeable in these peoples as individual states; the only remarkable feature in them is their common worship of the goddess Nerthus.'

in commune] 'they unite in the worship of N.' *in* is consecutive,

'so as to produce a common action': so *in peius interpretari* &c., cf. *Agric.* c. 6, l. 26.

Nerthus in form seems to be identified with Njodr, father of Freyr and Freya. But T.'s idea of the divinity seems to assimilate rather to Freya the goddess of fertility in the widest sense.

28 *insula*] possibly, Alsen.

castum] 'holy' or 'sacred,' in the sense that it was preserved from all contact with the outside world, not violated by any human traffic.

30 *concessum*] *impers.* passive, not as some editors (who quote *concessis animalibus* c. 9) personal, agreeing with *vehiculum*.

adesse intellegit] 'knows when the goddess visits,' lit. 'knows (by certain indications) that the goddess is visiting.'

31 *vectam*] aorist, cf. *Agric.* c. 25, l. 22 *amplexus*.

p. 52. I *quaecunque* &c.] these words are seemingly added for the purpose of being vague, for by inserting them T. leaves it open to question whether this holiday and time of rejoicing and peace was universal or confined to the places through which the goddess actually passed.

3 *tantum*] i.e. at all other times the people wore arms and were constantly on the look-out for opportunities of using them; *amata* is an advance on the sense of *nota*, 'even popular.'

4 *conversatione*] a post-Augustan word.

5 *mox=postea*] cf. c. 34, l. 28.

6 *numen ipsum*] a symbol, not an image, if the statement here is to be consistent with that in c. 9, l. 31.

7 *arcanus*] 'mysterious'; *terror*, sc. *est*.

CHAPTER XLI.

11 *secretiora*] the word is used from the Roman point of view, expressing the remoteness of the districts geographically, as well as their remoteness from Roman intercourse and influence.

12 *propior*] sc. *nobis*.

ut &c.] 'to follow the line of the Danube, as just now &c.'

paulo ante] cc. 32—34.

13 *Hermundurorum*] the *Hermunduri* lay between the Danube and the Elbe, in the region watered by the Saale and the upper Main; the Elbe separated them from the *Semnones*.

fida] seems to mean little more than that the H. kept peace with the Romans.

- 14 *non*] instead of *non tantum* emphasizes the difference between the H. and the other Germans who held intercourse with the Romans on the banks of the rivers only.
- 15 *penitus*] 'in the interior.'
- 16 *colonia*] *Augusta Vindelicorum* (mod. Augsburg) founded by Augustus, about A.D. 14.
sine custode] cf. *Hist.* IV. 64, where the Tencteri complain that the Romans only allowed them to visit the inhabitants of the *Colonia Agrippina* (Cologne) *inermes ac prope nudi sub custode*.
- 18 *non concupiscentibus*] 'without any strong (expression of) desire on their part.'
- 19 *Albis*] an error; T. seems to have thought that the Saale was part of the Elbe.
inclutum ac notum] i.e. among the Romans; the two words imply that the river was a frequent subject of conversation among the Romans who had personal knowledge of it, whereas in T.'s time it was only known by rumour.
olim] before the time of the Varian disaster, and the subsequent campaigns of Drusus and Tiberius.

CHAPTER XLII.

- 22 *Varisti*] is said to be the superlative of a German stem meaning 'warlike.' The *Varisti* are said to have been originally a part of the *Marcomanni* who stayed behind in the region of the Fichtelgebirge when the former pushed forwards eastwards into Bohemia.
Marcomanni] in Bohemia.
- 23 *Quadi*] in Moravia and further south to the Danube in W. Hungary.
- 24 *pulsis*] this is scarcely correct, as the bulk at least of the Boii had been displaced (possibly in the time of the Cimbric invasions) before the *Marcomanni* left their home on the Main.
parta] sc. *est*.
- 25 *frons*] from the Roman point of view.
- 26 *Danuvio*] ablative, cf. c. 34, l. 21.
- 27 *usque ad*] 'to times within our own recollection.'
ex gente ipsorum] qualify *reges*, opposed to *iam et externos patiuntur*.
- 28 *Marobodu*] cf. *Ann.* II. 62. The name is said to be equivalent to *ἱππόμενος*.
Tudri] nominative *Tuder* or *Tudrus*, belonged apparently to the *Quadi*, but nothing more is known about him.

- 29 *vis et potentia*] 'power and influence,' *vis* is the material, *potentia* the moral power, cf. *Hist.* III. 11 *vis et potestas*.
 30 *nec minus*] i.e. than when they were supported by arms. Others take *Romani* as subject to *valent*, which gives a good sense, but the change of subject seems very harsh.

CHAPTER XLIII.

- p. 53. 6 *retro terga claudunt*] on the E. and N.E. *Marsigni*] on the northern slopes of the Riesen-gebirge. *Cotini*] in Hungary in the neighbourhood of Gran. *Osi*] S.E. of the Cotini, cf. c. 28, l. 19. *Buri*] in the valley of the Waag.
 8 *referunt*] from the sense of 'reproduce' as in c. 20 and Verg. *Aen.* IV. 329, the verb gets the sense of 'resemble.'
 9 *et quod...patiuntur*] second subject to *coarguit tributa*: the point is that the German *Quadi* imposed tribute on these peoples, which they would not have done on Germans.
 11 *alienigenis*] applies to the *Quadi* only, it would be unnecessary if the *Sarmatae* only had been mentioned. *pudeat*] the final form of the sentence heightens the effect. The Cotini, as it were, went out of their way to shame themselves.
 13 *ceterum*] adversative, *pauca* practically implying a negative.
 15 *iugum*] the Riesen-gebirge (*mons Asciburgius*) and the Erz-gebirge (*Sudetes*). But T. has the former most in his mind, for the people next mentioned lay E. of Bohemia in Silesia and Poland.
 18 *Nahanarvālos*] perhaps means 'deadly-fighters.'
 19 *religionis*] descriptive genitive; *religio* here has the sense of 'religious usage'; 'a grove hallowed by an ancient form of worship.' *praesidet*] sc. *religioni*.
 20 *sed*] seems to point to the contrast between the sex of the gods worshipped and the female dress of the priest. *interpretatione*] 'translated into (represented by) Roman equivalents,' not simply 'according to Roman explanation.'
 21 *memorant*] the subject is Roman writers. *ea*] 'such,' i.e. corresponding to the attributes of the Roman deities. *vis*] 'character,' 'attributes,' the same use of *vis* as when it is used of words in the sense of 'meaning.' *numini*] the godhead of the twin gods regarded as a whole. *Alcis*] dat. pl. acc. to the idiom *est ei nomen Caio*, cf. c. 34; nom. *Alci* or *Alcae*.

- 22 *peregrinae*] as in the case of the German Isis, c. 9.
- 23 *tamen*] i.e. although there is nothing external to identify the German gods with Castor and Pollux, still the fact that they worship them as brothers and young is evidence of the identity as far as it goes.
ceterum] dismissive, 'to proceed.'
super] 'in addition to,' cf. c. 30, l. 3, *Agric.* c. 17, l. 13. Some take *truces super* together, 'savagely proud of.'
- 25 *truces*] adverbial, 'take a savage pleasure in using art and occasion to assist their natural ferocity.'
lenocinantur] properly 'to pander to' or 'flatter' gets in post-Augustan writers to be used of things, to heighten the effect of a thing by artificial means, cf. *Dialog.* c. 6 *ipsa sollicitudo lenocinatur voluptati*.
- 27 *formidine atque umbra feralis*] 'the terrifying and ghostly (phantom-like) appearance of their spectral host.' *umbra* can hardly mean literally the shadows thrown by the army as some take it. *velut infernum* below shows that T. means to suggest that the army looked like a body of ghosts from below.
feralis] is properly 'connected with the dead,' and used in that sense here of a host looking like men come from the region of the dead.
- 28 *velut infernum*] 'unearthly,' 'hellish.'
- 30 *regnantur*] a Tacitean condensation for 'dwell the Gotōnes, who are governed by kings.' The position of the Gotōnes seems quite uncertain. T. evidently places them N. of the Lugii and S. of the Rugii.
adductus] metaphor from drawing something tight, so as to put a strain upon it, e.g. *habenas amicitiae* (Cic.); 'with a tighter rein,' 'more strictly'; the adjectival use of the participle is post-Aug.
- 31 *ceterae*] i.e. the other monarchical states.
supra] 'not above or beyond freedom' = 'still allowing freedom.'
nondum is used rather of degree than time, their monarchy has not yet reached the stage of absolute monarchy.
- 32 *protinus*] in local sense qualifies *ab Oceano*, beginning immediately at the ocean, that is, the Baltic: *deinde*, cf. c. 40, l. 23.
Rugii] in W. Prussia and Pomerania, *Lemovii* W. of the Rugii.

CHAPTER XLIV.

p. 54. 4 *Suionum*] in Scandinavia.

ipso in] with the ocean all round them.

- 6 *utrimque*] qualifies *prora*, 'a prow at each end finds them always ready fronted to run into land'; *agit*, metaph. from the stage, 'acts or serves as,' so *exulem* &c. *agere*.

- 7 *ministrant*] cf. Verg. *Aen.* VI. 302.
in ordinem] 'in a straight line,' lit. 'so as to form a regular line.'
adiungunt 'fasten.'
- 8 *fluminum*] for the genitive, cf. *Ann.* I. 49 *quidam bonorum.*
- 10 *iam*] cf. *nondum*, c. 43, l. 31.
exceptionibus] 'limitations,' 'restrictions.'
- 11 *precario*] cf. *Agric.* c. 16, l. 27. *non precario* = 'irresponsible,' the single ruler needs to ask no one's consent to his actions.
- 14 *porro*] 'moreover,' a further reason for keeping the arms locked up.
enimvero] 'of course,' 'needless to say,' cf. Livy IV. 4. 9.
- 16 *regia utilitas*] 'the interest of despots.'

CHAPTER XLV.

- 19 *trans*] N. from Scandinavia.
aliud] different from the ocean, named before.
mare] the Arctic ocean, *θάλασσα πεπηγυῖα*, Strabo, *mare concretum*, Pliny.
- 20 *hinc*] anticipates *quod* &c.
fides] 'belief.'
- 21 *edurat*] this is true of course of only six months in the year.
- 22 *sonum* &c.] if this 'persuasion' had any foundation in fact it was perhaps a mythological version of the phenomenon known as the 'Northern lights.'
- 23 *persuasio*] subjective, 'belief.'
- 24 *illuc usque tantum*] 'so far as this and no further.'
natura] = *rerum natura*, 'created things,' 'the earth.'
ergo] 'returning therefore,' used like *igitur* to resume after a digression, but with special reference to the last sentence, 'since this is the end of the world, let us turn back to the people on the E. coast of the Baltic.'
- 25 *adluuntur*] sc. *mari*. The name of the Aestii prob. survives in Esthonia.
- 26 *habitus*] 'personal appearance,' 'physique.'
Sueborum] condensed comparison, cf. *Agric.* c. 12, l. 27.
matrem] i.e. a goddess corresponding to the *Magna Mater Idaea*, worshipped at Rome.
- 27 *insigne*] emblem. *formas*, 'models,' 'figures.'
- 28 *pro*] not 'instead of,' but 'before' in the sense of 'more than.'

T. cannot mean that they offered no armed resistance to enemies. In fact the next sentence contradicts such a supposition. The 'cudgels' mentioned in connexion with *ferrum* must mean wooden *weapons* of some sort.

30 *quam pro*] 'with an industry out of keeping with.'

31 *laborant*] with accusative is a poetic construction. Cf. Horace, *Epod.* v. 60.

sed et] cf. c. 6, l. 16.

p. 55. 2 *natura...ratio*] 'power or process of nature.'

7 *tamen*] refers to *non compertum*.

8 *animalia*] see Martial IV. 32, IV. 59, and VI. 15, on a bee, a viper, and an ant, enclosed in amber.

10 *secretis*] 'the depths of the Eastern world,' *secreta* are remote parts, seldom or never visited by Romans.

14 *naturam*] 'properties,' *temptes*, 'test,' 'explore.'

15 *taedae*] a torch made of resinous wood, smeared with pitch &c.

16 *pinguem*] 'heavy,' 'smoky,' *ut in*, 'into something like.'

17 *Sitonum*] N. of the *Suiones*. The name *Sitones* and the report of their government by a queen seem to have arisen out of linguistic mistakes. The people of the N. of Scandinavia appear to have been Finns. *continuantur*] intransitive middle, 'adjoin.'

19 *a servitute*] they have fallen below even the ordinary slavery of government by a despot, in submitting to a woman-despot.

CHAPTER XLVI.

25 *quamquam*] retrospective, introducing a fact which modifies *dubito*.

Peucini] on the Dniester, were a portion of the larger tribe of Bastarnae. The latter assisted Philip of Macedonia in his coalition against the Romans, B.C. 182.

26 *agunt*] cf. c. 26, l. 13.

27 *torpor*] 'stagnation,' extreme inactivity physical and mental.

28 *habitus*] 'features,' cf. c. 45, l. 26.

foedantur] 'assimilate to the repulsive type of the Sarmatians,' *foedantur* because the repulsive features of the Sarmatians and Scythians with whom they were more or less identified were notorious.

Venedi] Wends, on the shore of the *Sinus Venedicus* at the mouth of the Vistula.

29 *moribus*] sc. *Sarmatarum*.

Fennos] in the lowlands on the coast of the Baltic, N. of the Aestii.
T. knows of no Fenni in Scandinavia.

- 31 *figunt*] they have fixed dwellings unlike the nomad Sarmatians.
32 *pedum*] the name *Fenni* is by some connected with the Anglo-Saxon
finna=*penna*, from the snow-shoes with which they 'winged' their feet.
p. 56. 7 *ferarum*] for the genitive cf. c. 16, l. 27, and Pliny *Epp.* ix.
39 *suffugium nullum aut imbris aut solis*.
8 *nexu*] some sort of tent or hut, made of slanting beams roofed with
brushwood.
10 *suas...versare*] 'or to worry themselves and others with the hopes
and fears of wealth.' T. uses these unfortunate savages rather reck-
lessly for the benefit of the over-civilised Romans; *adsecuti sunt* borders
on the ridiculous if it does not touch it. The rest of his work T.
acknowledges to be fabulous.
13 *fabulosa*] 'belong to the region of fable.'

NOTES ON THE TEXT.

AGRICOLA.

C. 1. 1. 18. *at nunc* &c.] The text is not satisfactory, for there is not the parallel required by the structure of the sentence between attacking times and writing the biography of an individual. If we punctuate with some editors with a full stop at *incusaturus*, then *tempora* must be understood of the time at which T. was writing. But this does not seem to agree with the general tenor of the passage. A modern emendation, adopted by Draeger, is *quam non petissem, incusaturus. tam saeva et virtutibus infesta tempora exegimus* (we have passed through). This gives a more satisfactory sense, but is rather a violent alteration, requiring not only the substitution of *exegimus* for *legimus*, but also of *fuit* for *fuerit* after *capitale*.

3. 16. *et*] the MSS. reading seems preferable to the emendation *set* adopted by Halm.

5. 3. *exercitatio*] *excitatio* and *erectio* have been suggested, but there seems no absolute need for alteration.

11. 12. *persuasiones*] I have adopted this emendation for *persuasione* retained by Halm, which does not seem to give an intelligible sense. *sacra, persuasiones* = *sacra et persuasiones* by asyndetism.

13. 23. *paenitentiae*] I retain this in preference to the emendation *velox ingenio, mobilis paenitentia*.

15. 20. *enim*] I adopt the emendation *enim* for *manum*, which comes in awkwardly and spoils the balance of the sentence.

15. 32. *integris*] Some word must be supplied here, and *integris* seems preferable to *illis* also suggested. Halm quotes Cic. pro Murena, § 50, as an instance of *integer* opposed to *miser*.

16. 14. *proprius*] is an old emendation for *propius*. It involves very little alteration and gives a better sense.

16. 28. *esset*] Halm for *et*, which Draeger retains. Others read *essent*. If we read *et* without *esset* or *essent*, *sunt* must be supplied with *pacti, velut* being adverbial, 'as it were.'

18. 1. *a*] inserted by Halm seems to be required, though Draeger says it is not.

18. 4. *subitis*] a conjecture of J. F. Gronovius for *dubiis*, which Halm adopts, and which seems to suit the sense of the passage better.

19. 5. *ac ludere*] Draeger adopts in his text the rather violent emendation *auctiore*.

19. 7. *pro*] an insertion admitted by Halm, which the sense seems to require. *pro* might easily drop out before *proximis*. Without *pro*, *proximis hibernis* must be taken as abl. absol. with concessive sense.

22. 15. *crebrae eruptiones*] transferred by Halm from after *desertum*. The position seems more natural.

24. 10. *differt...melius*] the MSS. have *differt in melius*, which Draeger retains, rendering, 'differ to the advantage of the Irish,' and explaining (as do other editors) the number of *differt* as agreeing with the nearest substantive. But assuming that *cultus* is necessarily singular, such a combination as *ingenia cultusque* must surely require a plural verb. The case would be different if the last subst. were coupled on by *et*. *interiora parum* is of course a purely conjectural insertion, but something of the kind seems required to introduce *melius aditus* &c.

27. 33. *victos*] an insertion. Draeger with some other editors omits *ducis*, substituting *victos* for it, but it seems more likely that *victos* should have dropped out, than that *ducis* should have been written instead of it.

30. 22. *atque*] Draeger adopts the old emendation *atqui*, saying that an adversative particle is required to introduce *omne* &c. But it is difficult to see why. The previous sentence implies that it was ignorance about them that had helped to protect them.

31. 20. *patientiam*] MSS. *paenitentiam*, which would mean, 'not that the result of our defence of our freedom may be regret that we tried to defend it, as the Brigantes had cause to regret their revolt,' which seems rather a forced sense. With *patientiam* the sense will be 'to secure freedom, not subjection, the result of the Brigantes' fighting'; cf. c. 16, l. 13.

34. 15. *ceterorum*] I follow Draeger (who adopts the suggestion of Baehrens) in transposing this word from before *Britannorum* to before *tam*.

34. 21. *novissimae res* &c.] MSS. *novissimae res et extremo metu corpora defixere aciem in his vestigiis*. I have adopted in the text the emendation of Wex. Halm has *novissimae res et extremo metu torpor defixere aciem in his vestigiis*.

35. 2. *victoriae*] *victori* has been suggested, which is very likely right.

36. 17. *ac*] it has been suggested to insert *tres* before *ac*, an emendation which Draeger adopts.

36. 30. *cum aegre* &c.] MSS. *cum egra diu aut stantes*, of which the reading of the text is the emendation adopted by Halm. Another is *e gradu aut statu...pellerentur* adopted by Draeger.

41. 11. *eorum...solerent*] Probably it would be better to adopt the emendation of H. Grotius, *ceterorum* for *eorum*, in which case the inserted words required with *eorum* will be unnecessary.

43. 15. *comperti*] *ita comperti ut firmare ausim* has been suggested.

44. 32. *tertium*] prob. *iterum* should be read.

GERMANIA.

C. 11. 1. 3. *turba*] MSS. *turbe*. *turbæ* is adopted by most editors except Halm. But *turba* (quite a possible construction, cf. Livy 33. 31 and 39. 30) gives a sense better suited to what precedes.

18. 16. *quamquam* &c.] Halm begins this chapter at *dotem*, but the previous words seem more naturally connected with this chapter than the last.

26. 14. *vices*] it seems best to bracket this as spurious, as Halm does. Other editors read *vicis*, a reading given by some MSS. (from *vicus*), or *in vices*, also a MS. reading, but the first seems questionable grammar and the second states a fact for which there seems to be no other authority.

38. 4. *comptius*] I have adopted this emendation of Lachmann's in preference to *compti* [*ut*], which Halm retains.

39. 17. *centum pagis habitant*] Ernesti's emendation of this corrupt passage seems preferable to Brotier's *centum iis pagi habitantur*, which Halm adopts. Holder's *habitare dicuntur* has a good deal of probability.

40. 3. *tantum amata*] the repetition of *tantum* is very possibly a copyist's error. It rather spoils the effect of *amata*.

40. 5. *vestes*] probably *vestis* is the right reading, cf. *veste connectum* above.

43. 13. *iugumque*] is certainly out of place here; its presence in the MSS. is probably due to the *iugum* following *montium* in the next sentence.

45. 17. *Suionibus...degenerant*] Many authorities consider it certain that these words ought to be transferred to the end of c. 44, and *Trans Suionas* at the beginning of c. 45 altered to *Trans Sitonas*. Zernial has adopted the alteration in his text. It certainly seems as if this was what Tacitus ought to have written, but whether he did so or not, it is impossible to say, in the absence of any MS. authority for the alterations.

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